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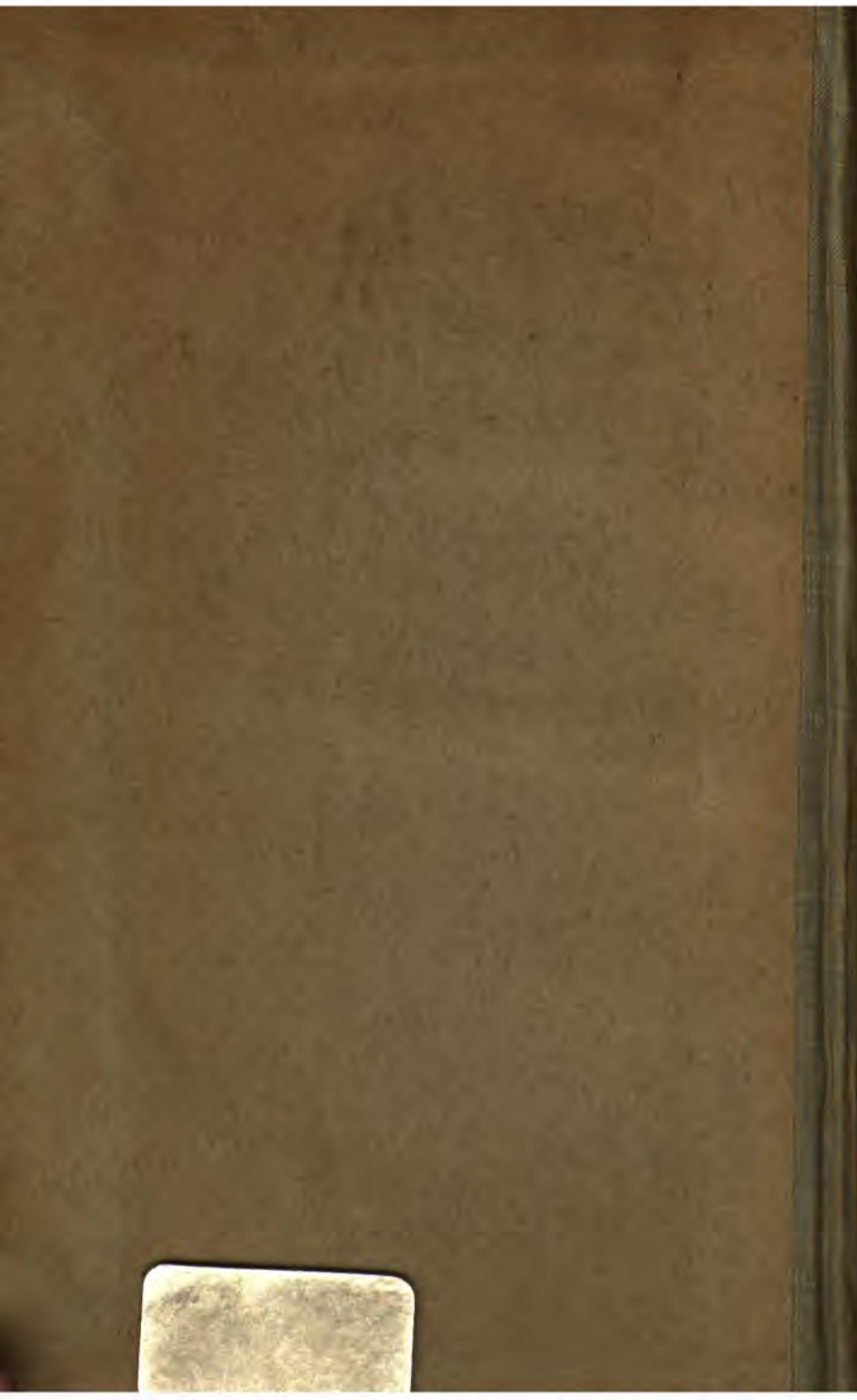
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31 16²

Dr. H. H. H.

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W. G. Fry sculpt.

Brian Walton Esq. D. D.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. BRIAN WALTON, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER,

EDITOR OF THE LONDON POLYGLOT BIBLE.

WITH NOTICES OF HIS COADJUTORS IN THAT ILLUSTRIOUS WORK;
OF THE CULTIVATION OF ORIENTAL LEARNING, IN THIS COUNTRY,
PRECEDING AND DURING THEIR TIME;

AND OF THE

Authorized English Version of the Bible,

TO A PROJECTED REVISION OF WHICH DR. WALTON AND SOME OF HIS
ASSISTANTS IN THE POLYGLOT WERE APPOINTED.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

DR. WALTON'S OWN VINDICATION

OF THE

LONDON POLYGLOT.

BY THE,

REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M.A. F.S.A.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, AND RECTOR OF SETTRINGTON,
COUNTY OF YORK.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE MOST REVEREND

CHARLES,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN.

MY LORD,

To your Grace, whose unceasing exertions for the advancement of learning and religion are known to all, the Memoirs of a great Prelate, and his assistants in one of the noblest monuments of religion and learning, could not, but with perfect propriety, have been inscribed, if they

had been compiled by a less ordinary pen. Yet, in the present instance, they bring with them the tribute of gratitude for your Grace's goodness, and condescension, in having thought the compiler of them worthy to partake of your patronage. And that benignity which has often induced your Grace to encourage my humble labours, while I have been honoured with the custody of the LAMBETH MANUSCRIPTS, and often also, when neither claim nor expectation existed, most liberally to reward them ; that benignity, I am persuaded, will not disdain the acceptance of a mere compilation, in which the facts at least are interesting, and of which many are gathered from your Grace's literary treasures ; and with which, removed as I now am by the great kindness of another noble friend to

DEDICATION.

V

preferment in a distant county, I bring
to an end the years which have passed
delightfully in **LAMBETH LIBRARY.**

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

MY LORD,

With the most grateful respect,

Your Grace's very highly obliged,

and obedient Servant,

HENRY JOHN TODD.

Jan. 25, 1821.



P R E F A C E.



IN bringing together from various sources of information, both manuscript and printed, the following notices of Dr. Walton and his assistants in the Polyglot, I am discharging a debt, which every theological scholar will acknowledge to be due to these illustrious benefactors; which yet, I admit, should have been paid in a more suitable manner. My tribute, however, though slight, is sincere. The researches also, which have produced these Memoirs, present the reader with other circumstances than those of merely literary concern; they present, in several instances, a similarity of feature exhibited by events of Cromwell's time and our

own; they accordingly present a very useful lesson of former experience; and amidst great persecution and distress, they present the orthodox and loyal Clergy of the Church of England, with undiminished activity, rearing a monument to the glory of their country by unrivalled proofs of learning, and piety, and patience, and industry. The following Anecdotes and Memoirs, therefore, are of men who have specially "left a name behind them that their praises might be reported;" a name, which in succeeding times has continued to excite other scholars and divines to "do likewise;" and which to this day illustrates the imperishable worth and importance of the English academical education. Against most of them, as against all other loyal men, plans and purposes were adopted and employed during the Great Rebellion; and it may be curious to cite the warning words, as they respect those purposes and plans,

and as they still speak "trumpet-tongued" both to ecclesiastical and political agitators, of a very remarkable contemporary. "The disorderly tumultuous cries, and petitions, of such ignorant zealots for extremes *under the name of Reformation*; and crying down all moderate motions about Episcopacy and Liturgies; and rushing fiercely into a war; and young lads, and apprentices, and their like, pricking forward parliament-men; had so great a part in our sin and misery, from 1641 to 1660, as I must give warning to posterity to avoid the like and love moderation." And if the artifices, thus exposed, had been at first resisted with becoming promptitude, then the tumultuous proceedings of a mob, stimulated by a factious magistrate, would not have afforded a most dangerous example to society; and

* Baxter, History of his Life and Times, Appendix, No. VIII.

* Memoirs of Dr. Walton, pp. 11, 12, 13.

sumption. But the writer of the Letter proceeds to inform the Primate of all England, that he is supported in his opinion of the necessity of a revision, if not of a 'new translation, of our Bible, by

Rev. J. W. Whittaker, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. And the Supplement to it, Camb. 1820. See also Remarks upon the critical Principles, and the practical Application of those Principles, adopted by Writers, who have at various Periods recommended a new Translation of the Bible as expedient and necessary. Oxford, 1820. The very extensive circulation of the Quarterly Review has been likewise of infinite importance in undeceiving many, by the accurate animadversions made in it upon the subject, in regard to the translation by the person named. See Nos. 37, 38, and 46. See also a recent publication, entitled, *Vindiciæ Hebraicæ*; or, a Defence of the Hebrew Scriptures, as a Vehicle of Revealed Religion: occasioned by the recent Strictures and Innovations of Mr. J. Bellamy; and in Confutation of his Attacks on all preceding Translations, and on the established Version in particular. By Hyman Hurwitz. Lond. 1821.

¹ The writer assumes, that there are "advantages which enable the present age to produce a translation of the Bible superior to that of 1611." Letter, &c. p. 269.

the testimonies of Lowth, Newcome, and others ; whose attempts in favour of their opinion, I must add, have been duly weighed in the balances of sound criticism, and been found wanting ; and are therefore ^m now noticed, in order to render more clear the services of our old translators, which, with the best intention, these modern translators expected (but in vain) to rival. The writer of the Letter also talks of the imperfection of the English language, when the authorized Version was made ; and of its subsequent improvements. It is an insult to the honour of our mother-tongue to speak evil of it at that period ; and upon a comparison of it with modern terms in any translation of parts of the Bible, since the reign of James the First, who will be in any fear of decision against our venerable Version by the English reader of taste and judgment ? I close the remarks upon this

^m Memoirs of Dr. Walton, pp. 120, 131, 132.

gentleman with a sincere wish that he had been better informed, in regard to the history of the Version which he would set aside, than to entreat the Archbishop of Canterbury to rival the reputation of Dr. Rainolds, *who persuaded King James*, he says, *in 1607, to the work of the present translation*. Surely it is well known, that this translation was directed to be made by the king, very soon after the Conference at Hampton Court, in January, 1603-4; and the writer might have known, that in 1607, the work, after the progress of more than three years, was ^a understood to be concluded, instead of being only then begun!

^a See Wood's Annals of the University of Oxford, book i. "At Dr. Rainolds's lodgings the Translators met, it is said, and there perfected the work.—And he died in May, 1607." Thus Wood gives to the year 1607 the conclusion of the Translation, observing at the same time, that the Translators did the work sooner than was imagined.—The task of careful revision might well employ the selected divines of the Universities, and after them Bishop Bilson and Dr. Smith, the rest of the time which preceded the publi-

I have added, to the Memoirs of Dr. Walton, his Vindication of the Polyglot against the attack made upon it by Dr. John Owen; and I have fresh reason, since I determined upon the republication of this scarce and valuable work, to rejoice that I have added it; inasmuch as an acute and learned biographer of Dr. Owen has recently disapproved some parts of it,

oation of the Bible, in 1611, by authority.—That it was certainly begun before the death of Mr. Lively, who died in May, 1605, is evident from the expressions of sorrow for his loss, recorded in the Memoirs of Dr. Walton, pp. 109, 111; where also his too close attention to the Translation is described as having hastened his death. I have been favoured, by Mr. Archdeacon Churton, with an extract from an original letter of Archbishop Bancroft to Mr. Harmar, one of the authorised Translators, dated June 20, 1606, in which his Grace requires him to repair to Oxford, about the end of July, to meet the rest of those with whom he had been associated; “his Majestie being desirous (uppon occasion given this last Session of Parliament) to be informed how the Translation generally went forward, and understanding that your company *had finished most part of the work assigned unto them.*”

and as many persons might in consequence be led to imagine that Dr. Walton had rendered, in his defence of himself, little service to *Learning and Religion*. "He breathes a tone of defiance and contempt, alike uncalled for and unsuitable," says this biographer. Uncalled for and unsuitable! Then I will forestall the search of the reader for Dr. Walton's motives, which will perhaps command the assent of impartial critics, and at least afford a specimen of honest indignation exerting itself in the castigation of mischievous opposition. "Considering that it [the attack] may have come into the hands of divers, who never saw, and it may be, cannot read or understand, the *Biblia Polyglotta*, or the *Prolegomena*, and may simply give credit to what he [Dr. Owen] avers; (for though he say the opinions may be candidly disputed among learned men with-

* *Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Dr. John Owen*, by William Orme. Lond. 1820. p. 272.

† *Considerator considered*, chap. i. § 10.

out danger, yet he hath thought fit to submit and expose them to the judgment of the unlearned, who cannot judge, but may wrest, what they understand not, to their own hurt; wherein either his prudence or piety may justly be called in question, in bringing a Latin tract upon an English stage;) and withal lest he might complain that he was neglected, or brag amongst his ignorant proselytes that he could not be answered; and further seeing that there is as S. Ambrose saith, *otiosum silentium*, as well as *otiosum verbum*, and I would be loth to be guilty

· *Viz. Pro Sacris Scripturis adversus Fanaticos*, &c. the third of his united tracts; this being intended chiefly for the Quakers. The preceding two in English are, *Of the Divine Original*, &c. of the Scriptures: and *A Vindication of the Purity and Integrity of the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Old and New Testament*, in some Considerations on the Prolegomena and Appendix to the late *Biblia Polyglotta*. By John Owen, D.D. Oxford. The second of these begins at p. 145 of the volume; and both bear the date of being printed at Oxford in 1659, while the last (the Latin tract) bears that of 1658.

of the one, as my adversary is of the other ; and withal because he threatens in many places, ‘ a further search, and to make more discoveries of great matters :’ I thought it not altogether unfit, (though I want not other employments wherein to spend my hours,) *both in right to myself, and this Work of the Bible, and to all those reverend and worthy persons, whose approbations have commended it to the public, as also of all those great and learned Divines and others, some of which I have now mentioned, who are involved in the same cause, to take a brief view of these Considerations ; and to examine the grounds of those consequences which he would infer, and to shew how unjustly and uncharitably he hath dealt ; that so the Prolegomena, Appendix, and several Translations, may be vindicated from his false aspersions ; the true use of the Work maintained for the public good of the Church ; the truth asserted against his sophisms and declamations ; the reader disabused ; their judgments rectified, who may be misled by a popular Pamphlet fitted for vulgar capacities*

not for scholastical judgments ; and all further error and misconstruction prevented in what shall be hereafter offered by him or others upon this account, so that he or whoever shall proceed in this virulent way of censuring may be without excuse. Not that I intend to follow him in all his confused mazes, extravagancies, and tautologies ; but only to insist upon the chief and most material points, which being rightly stated, and the truth proved or vindicated, I shall submit all to the judicious and indifferent reader."

Upon other points also, respecting Dr. Owen and Dr. Walton, I have presumed to differ with the biographer of the former. And I trust that I have guarded against misrepresentation. But with having always avoided verbal errors I cannot flatter myself; and for their appearance, at any time, I entreat the reader's pardon.

Of Greek biblical Manuscripts, which

* See the Observations at the end of the *Considerator considered*, in the second volume of the present publication.

are preserved in the Library at Lambeth Palace, a particular account was intended to accompany these Memoirs of Dr. Walton : but it is the pleasure of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the donor of them, that such account shall form a distinct work.

HENRY JOHN TODD.

January 25, 1821.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
BRIAN WALTON, D.D.
&c.

~~~~~  
**CHAPTER I.**

*From the birth of Dr. Walton, till the time of commencing  
his Edition of the Polyglot Bible.*

**OF** the eventful period, which the following pages include, the recollection must, in many instances, be painful. For with the sad effects of lawful authority overthrown, and of gross hypocrisy triumphant, this period abounds. Yet will recollection be also cheered with the view of many great and good men, then exerting, amidst the insults and ravings of fanaticism, the noble powers, with which God had blessed them, to the advancement of sound learning and true religion : Such were the band of scholars and divines, by whose labours the Polyglot Bible, which has been justly called 'the glory of the English Church and Nation, was presented to the world.

\* Twells's Life of Dr. Edward Pocock, §. 3.

BRIAN WALTON, the leader of this illustrious company, was a native of Yorkshire. He has been represented by several writers as born *at Cleveland*, in that county; more correctly, by the writer of his Life in the *Biographia Britannica*, *in that part* of the North Riding of Yorkshire called Cleveland. Yet the particular place of his birth has been so little known, and so unsuccessfully inquired after, as to occasion a 'modern historian of this very district to declare, and many biographers of eminent men to admit, that they could discover no trace of it. A learned fellow-countryman long since 'informed the world, that

\* *The History of Cleveland, &c.* By the Rev. John Graves, 4to. 1808. "Though the district, of which we have presumed to compile the history, has undoubtedly the honour of having giving Dr. Walton birth; we have, nevertheless, after the most diligent research, been so unfortunate as not to discover the particular place of his nativity; and consequently unable to recover any unpublished materials of his family, &c. We are led to conclude, that he was born of honest and industrious parents, in the lower walks of society." p. 52.

† The Rev. Dr. John Mawer, of Trinity College, Cambridge, published proposals, dated at "Middleton-Tyas, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, Aug. 1, 1744," for printing by subscription a volume of Holy Scripture, containing the twelve Minor Prophets, according to a specimen annexed, viz. "Prophetia Hobadix, Hebraicè, Græcè, et Latinè, &c." with a dedication to Archbishop Potter, and an address to the reader, in which he speaks of his labours, "in sup-

*Seymour*, or *Seamer*, in Cleveland, was the place.

He was born in 1600, and in July 1616, he is 'said to have been admitted a sizar of Magdalene College, in Cambridge; whence he removed to 'Peter House, as a sizar also, in 1618. In 1619, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1623, that of Master of Arts.

From Cambridge he departed for a curacy and mastership of a school in Suffolk; and thence to the metropolis, as an assistant at the church of Allhallows, Bread-Street: where he soon became possessed of a London rectory, that of St. Martin's Orgar, in 1626. Distinguished, as he then was, for great activity and diligence, for 'abilities by which he could command any learning though he had not much studied it, and for judgment

plementum Polyglotton reverendissimi Waltoni nostri, *ut conterraneo et confini*, cum honore, cum veneratione quadam, semper memorandi:" to which is subjoined this note of information: "Brianus Walton, S. T. P. Episcopus Cestrien. à Clevelandia in *oppidulo* (vulgo *Seymour*) ortum suum duxit."

'Twells's Life of Dr. Pocock, §. 3. Of admissions at Magdalene College, previous to the year 1644, I have been obligingly informed by the Rev. Mr. Crawley, of that Society that the record is not now to be found.

• Reg. of Admissions, Pet. House, Camb. "December 4, 1618. Brian Walton Eboracensis admissus fuit sizator in hoc Collegium sub Mro. Blake."

' Walker's Suff. of the Clergy, P. II. p. 53. And Biograph. Brit.

by which he could manage to the best advantage any important project ; it is no wonder, that to him was confided, soon afterwards, the <sup>a</sup> principal management, on the part of the London clergy, in a very arduous undertaking ; namely, a minute inquiry into the law, and a proposal of improvement in the payment, of Tithes in that City.

From oblations, made to them by their parishioners upon certain days and occasions, the revenues of the London Clergy anciently accrued. Contests and decrees about them, in succeeding times, were at last merged in a Statute of Henry the eighth, which fixed the tithes or oblations at two shillings and nine pence in the pound. To avoid the regular payment, thus established, not only were true rents subsequently concealed, but other means of depreciation invented ; so that when James the first commenced his reign, the Clergy sought redress from the legislature. A bill was accordingly brought into parliament ; which, however, did not pass into a law. Nor did a <sup>b</sup> similar bill in 1620 meet with the desired

<sup>a</sup> He was particularly assisted in this business by Dr. Bruno Ryves, Rector of St. Martin's, Vintry ; afterwards, one of his coadjutors in the Polyglot. Lambeth MSS. Chart. Miscell. Vol. 8. No. 22.

<sup>b</sup> See the Case respecting the Maintenance of the London Clergy, &c. By the Rev. John Moore, LL.B. 1803. p. 35.

success. At length, in 1634, the Clergy renewed their petition for relief in a statement, to king Charles the first, of the greatness of their benefices in former days, and of the meanness of them then, together with an exposition of the causes. Of the practices, against which they complained, there were palpable detections. Yet arbitration was the measure to which both the injured and the injurious party submitted; and the arbitrator was the king, who was pleased to hear the matter himself. Nevertheless, the business proceeded slowly, till 1638; when the Clergy were ordered to exhibit a copy of the valuation of their respective tithes, with the value likewise of the houses in their parishes. Dr. Walton's copy bears the title of "*a moderate valuation*" of the houses in his parish, made according to his Majesty's direction, dated April 22, 1638. But to these statements exceptions were taken; and therefore another royal order authorized the incumbent on the one part, and the alderman of the ward or persons to be appointed by him on the other, to discuss the subject, and call in such assistance upon the occasion as they might choose. There were also committees of three aldermen appointed for the city, generally; and three of the clergy for the rest; to treat of accommoda-

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth MSS. No. 272.

tion. In the latter selection was <sup>1</sup> Dr. Walton. The national distractions, however, soon closed their proceedings.

Of the care and vigilance, then employed by Dr. Walton, abundant proofs have been preserved; which, when questions respecting the Tithes of London are at any time discussed, will afford the most accurate information. These <sup>1</sup> proofs consist of copies of customs, laws, proclamations, and orders, respecting these Tithes; and of valuations of them, delivered both by the clergy and the parishioners; together with his own important observations. That such a man as Dr. Walton, therefore, should have been pronounced, as he was, by one who presided in a court of judicature, unanswerable upon these points, excites no surprise. But, besides these collections, Dr. Walton formed a regular and complete <sup>2</sup> treatise upon the subject, about the year 1640; which, however, was never published before the year 1752; and then, only among <sup>3</sup> other eccle-

<sup>1</sup> Biograph. Brit.

<sup>2</sup> They are to be found in two very large volumes (the 8th and 9th) of *Chartæ Miscellanæ*, as they are termed, preserved in the Library at Lambeth Palace.

<sup>3</sup> The Treatise is one of the *Lambeth Manuscripts*, No. 273.

<sup>4</sup> In *Collectanea Ecclesiastica*, or *Treatises in MS.* relating to the Rights of the Clergy of the Church of England, &c. By Samuel Brewster, Esq.



siastical tracts. As a monument of antiquarian learning, as well as successful vindication, it has been since \* proposed for republication with notes. An Abstract of it, indeed, had † appeared so early as in the year 1662. And at the earlier period of 1641, there had been published "An Abstract of a Treatise concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations in London, shewing the Antiquities of those Payments according to the Rents of Houses, &c." Two or three notes, written in the margins of a † copy of this tract, which I have seen, appear to be the writing of Dr. Walton; who, probably, was the author of the Abstract; although our antiquaries have not so noticed it.

Soon after the preceding application of the clergy to king Charles, Dr. Walton was instituted to the two rectories of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, and of Sandon in Essex, on the same

\* By the Rev. John Moore, LL.B. Minor Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, and Rector of St. Michael's, Bassishaw, London, in 1802.

† Entitled, "A General Survey of the Value of the London Benefices, both as they are now, and also what they might arise unto, if tythes were truly paid according to the value of houses." 4to. 1662. This is an abstract, according to Mr. Gough's statement, of Dr. Walton's treatise extant in MS. in the Lambeth Library; as appears by a copy of the pamphlet in the Harleian Library. See Gough's Topograph. Vol. I. p. \*765.

† In the Lambeth Library.

day, Jan. 15, 1635-6. But the former he did not retain, as we find both a successor to it in 1636, and himself long afterwards in possession of St. Martin's Orgar. He is 'supposed to have been, at this time, chaplain to the king; and to have been collated also to a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1639 he commenced doctor in divinity, at Cambridge; where, in keeping his act upon the occasion, he maintained this thesis: '*Pontifex Romanus non est judex infallibilis in controversiis fidei*: a circumstance to which he referred, after the lapse of twenty years, with an avowal, against the calumny of an enemy, that '*he professed himself to be still of the same judgment, and to be rather more confirmed in that persuasion [of the pope's fallibility] than any way doubting it.*

Having earnestly contended for all that a liberal and learned profession had endeared to his brethren and himself, he became, as rebellion advanced successfully, the scorn of those who then respected neither learning nor liberality; and was pronounced a delinquent. But before we behold him assailed with accusations, and pur-

' Biograph. Brit.

' See his own *Considerator considered*, &c. 12mo. 1659. p. 165. And the republication of it, accompanying this volume, p. 173.

' Ibid.

sued by foes, in consequence of his proclaimed delinquency, I must notice him under the affliction of widowhood, at his rectory of Sandon. His wife died in 1640, and was buried in the chancel of Sandon, with an "epitaph, which records her ancient descent, her numerous good

\* See Morant's History of Essex, Vol. 2. p. 27.

D. O. M.

Sacrum.

*In medio cancelli reponuntur mortalitatis exuviæ ANNÆ, super uxoris BRIANI WALTON, Sacræ Theol. Doct. ac moderni Rectoris hujus Ecclesiæ; fœminæ sanctissimis moribus à clara CLAXTONORUM familia in Comit. Suffolk. oriundæ; quæ ab ærumnosa hac lacrymarum valle in cœlestem patriam emigravit feria prima Pentecost. Majj, 25. Anno. Christi, 1640. Ætatis suæ, 43.*

*If well to live, and well to die,  
If faith, and hope, and charity,  
May crown a soul in endless bliss;  
Thrice happy her condition is.  
Vertuous, modest, godly, wise,  
Pity flowing from her eyes;  
A loving wife, a friend most deare:  
Such was shee, who now lies here.*

*Earth hath her body, Heaven her soul doth keepe,  
Her friends the loss, and so shee rests asleepe:  
Rest then, deare soul, till Christ return; while wee  
Mourne here below, and long to come to thee.*

*Usque quo, Domine?*

*Hoc qualicumque amoris monumento, tanto vitæ  
solamine orbatus, mœrens posuit*

B. W.

qualities, and briefly, yet expressively, his sorrow.

That he should be sequestered of all his preferments, will naturally be expected, when we consider the temper and history of the times. Some of his London parishioners were among the first of those who aided unjust exasperation against the Clergy, in pronouncing “<sup>v</sup> their parson’s demand unreasonable,” with an assumed and inconsequent plea, that he had “<sup>z</sup> another living then worth 200*l.* per annum;” when, in truth, the parliamentary commissioners, soon afterwards appointed to ascertain minutely the value of ecclesiastical benefices, could not strain it beyond 115*l.* They invidiously represented him, also, as possessing “<sup>z</sup> 1,000*l.* in estate, and upwards, having no charge but himself and his wife.” Nor was it long before these parishioners presented against their pastor, which indeed was then a practice of frequent occurrence, and for

<sup>v</sup> Exceptions of the Parishes in London to the Clergies Demands, &c. October 16, 1638. St. Martyn, Orgar. Lambeth, MSS. Chart. Miscell. Vol. 8. No. 37.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.

<sup>v</sup> Parliamentary Surveys of Livings, Lambeth Lib. Sandon, county of Essex, Vol. 8. fol. 200, 201. “The yearly value of the parsonage-house and glebe-land, is 15*l.* and of the tithes, 100*l.*”

<sup>z</sup> Exceptions, ut *suprà*.

obvious reasons, a petition to parliament, with articles of pretended misdemeanours. Such petitions *were read with great delight,* \* says Lord Clarendon ; “ and presently referred to the committee about religion : where Mr. White, a grave lawyer, but notoriously disaffected to the Church, sat in the chair ; and then both petition and articles were suffered to be printed and published, (a licence never practised before,) that the people might be inflamed against the Clergy, and be quickly taught to call all those, against whom such petitions and articles were exhibited, *the scandalous Clergy* ; which appellation was frequently applied to men of great gravity and learning, and the most unblemished lives.”

Some of these petitions might be considered rather as absolute demands. Such was that, which had just preceded the charges against Dr. Walton, presented by <sup>b</sup> Isaac Pennington, the notorious anarchist and factious lord-mayor of London, for a total alteration of Church-government, to which he had procured the subscription of 15,000 names. This, indeed, drew from one

\* History of the Rebellion, B. III.

<sup>b</sup> Of whom a proper character has been given in a contemporary couplet :

—“ The unkennell’d crew of lawless men,  
Led down by Watkins, Pennington, and Ven.”

Eleg. upon K. Charles I. March 11, 1648, p. 7.

of the members of the house a very merited reflection upon the flimsy substance of the petition; and it will not be improper here to copy that part of his speech upon the occasion; as it affords at once a curious specimen of the petitionary spirit of the times, and in a very powerful respect a political lesson never to be disregarded.

“ I shall desire those worthy aldermen, and the rest here of the citie of London, not to take any thing I shall say in the least way of disparagement, or reflection, on the citie. I looke not upon this petition, as a petition from the citie of London, but from I know not what 15,000 Londoners; all that could be got to subscribe. When this petition was first presented, there might be more reason for the commitment of it, as being then the most comprehensive catalogue we had of Church grievance. But now that the ministers, by their remonstrance, have given us so faire and full an index of them, without those mixtures of things contemptible, irrationall, and presumptuous, wherewith this petition abounds; I doe not know, I professe, to what good end it can be

‘ Third Speech of the Lord George Digby to the House of Commons concerning the Bishops, and the Citie-Petition, the 9th of February, 1640, Printed, 4to. 1640, p. 7, et seq.

committed, being full of contemptible things. But first let me recall to your mind *the manner of its deliverie* ; and I am confident, *there is no man of judgement that will thinke it for a Parliament, under a Monarchie, to give countenance to irregular and tumultuous assemblies of people, be it for never so good an end. Besides, there is no man of the least insight into nature, or historie, but knows the danger, when either true or pretended stimulation of conscience hath once given a multitude agitation.* Contemptible things, Sir, swarme in the 8th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, articles of this petition. Did ever any body think, that the gaeties of Ovid, or Tom Carye's muse, should by 15,000 have beene presented to a Parliament, as a motive for the extirpation of bishops ? The scandall of the rochet, the lawne sleeves, the foure-corner cap, the cope, the surplesse, the tippet, the hood, the canonical coat, &c. may passe, with arguments of the same weight ; onely thus much let me observe upon it, Mr. Speaker, that one would sweare, the penners of the article had the pluming of some bishops already, they are so acquainted with every feather of them. In a word, I know not whether it be more preposterous, to inferre the extirpation of bishops from such weak arguments, or to attribute as they do to Church-government all the civill grievance.

Not a patent, not a monopolie, not the price of a commodity raised, but these men make bishops the cause of it!"

We come now to the ' particular articles and charges brought against Dr. Walton. First, he is accused of ordering his church-warden to place the communion-table under the east-window ; which the churchwarden declining, Dr. Walton himself, the bishop of Rochester, and other friends then present, there placed it. This the accusers considered as superstition and innovation ; which, as the arraigned primate of all England about the same time observed \*, was but

\* They are entitled, " The Articles and Charge proved in Parliament against Doctor Walton, Minister of St. Martin's Orgar, in Cannon Street. Wherein his subtile tricks, and Popish innovations, are discovered," &c. 4to. London, 1641, (fourteen pages.)

\* History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 156. The Order of Parliament against divers Popish Innovations, as they were called, dated September 8, 1641, directed the churchwardens of every parish, forthwith to remove the communion-table from the east end of the Church into some other convenient place ; and to take away the rails, and level the chancels. Now it will be worth referring to the Constitutions and Canons, of 1640, for an explanation of this point. " Albeit at the time of reforming this Church from that grosse superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all meanes should be used to root out of the mindes of the people both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof, especially of the idolatry



the restoration of the ancient approved ceremonies since the Reformation, and settled either by law or custom; till the faction of such as then openly and avowedly separated from the Church of England opposed them, and cried them down. To the next charge, also, against Dr. Walton, the same remark applies. For the accusers complained of his reading part of the morning-ser-

committed in the masse, for which cause all Popish altars were demolished; yet, notwithstanding, it was then ordered by the Injunctions and Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, that the holy tables should stand in the place where the altars stood; and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chapels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most Cathedrall, and some Parochiall Churches; which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition, or innovation." Const. and Cam. Eccl. 4to. 1640. §. vii. Dr. Walton takes notice how unjustly the sectaries had cried down in the Church of England *as Popish innovations*, episcopal government, set forms of liturgies," &c. See his Considerator Considered, Chap. ix. §. 18. The King, at the time, it should be observed, declared, that he would "with constancy maintain, while he lived, the Church of England, not only *against all innovations of Popery*, but also from the irreverence of those many schismatics and separatists, wherewith of late the kingdom, and city of London, abounded, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State." See his Majestie's Answer to the Petition, presented to him at Hampton Court, December 1, 1641, 4to. London, 1641, p. 7.

vice in the usual reading-pew of the Church, and part at the altar. They likewise noticed his not preaching on Sundays *in the afternoon*, in order to express their indignation at his not permitting them "*to procure a preacher, though at their own charge.*" His firmness is to be admired and imitated. Dr. Walton was no stranger to the characters of those, who, *at the charge of these accusers*, were to be placed in his pulpit; for whom, however, one of their 'poetically-gifted brethren has recorded in the beginning of his Parliamentary Chronicle, from 1641 to 1643, "*a way was then made plain;—and wide doores were set open for a blessed restauration and replantation of most faithfull and painfull pastors, and laborious lecturers; chosen and set up with the people's consent and good liking!—Whereas, formerly, the prelates and pontificians*

' Thou that with ale, or viler liquors,  
Didst inspire Withers, Pryn, or *Vicars*,  
And force them, though it was in spite,  
Of nature and their stars, to write, &c.

Hudibras, P. I. C. I.

Vicars shewed himself, a forward man for the Presbyterian cause, hated all people that loved obedience, and affrighted many of the weaker sort and others from having any agreement with the King's party! A. Wood, Ath. Ox. ii. 85. Edit. 1692.

‡ Vicars, Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 39.

durst scoffe, fleer, and jeer familiarly at *those faithfull and painfull lecturers* ; and most atheistically ask in derision, *What kind of creatures those lecturers were ?*—Dr. Walton, without asking, perfectly knew <sup>a</sup> what kind of creatures they were, as well as the arbiters, by whose “consent and good liking” they were to be chosen *afternoon preachers* ; and, therefore, wisely withheld his consent from the specious proposal alleged.

In the next accusation brought against Dr.

<sup>a</sup> Walker gives us a curious specimen of assistants or lecturers at this period, as thrust in to *preach in the afternoon* ; namely, as preaching down what the incumbent of the Church had preached up in the morning. *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. p. 98. Archbishop Laud, in the last Account of his Province to the King, viz. in 1639-40, speaking of some lectures in the diocese of Lincoln, which were disorderly ; and of a lecturer who preached very factiously, just at the time when his Majesty was at Berwick ; adds, that his fellow-lecturers complained not of him. *History of the Troubles, &c. of Archbishop Laud*, p. 563. There are numerous remarks upon lecturers in the Archbishop’s preceding accounts ; among others, that “they abounded in Suffolk, and were set up by private gentlemen, even without so much as the knowledge of the ordinary, and without any due observation of the canons or discipline of the Church ;” and that at Yarmouth, where the lecture had been discontinued, “there had been very much peace in the town, and all ecclesiastical orders well observed.” *History, &c.* p. 541.

Walton, he is described as “<sup>1</sup> non-resident all the summer, and committing the charge of the petitioners’ souls to an ignorant curate, maintaining him no otherwise than with a salary *catched out of the revenue of the parish-lands.*” We cannot but here observe the duplicity of falsehood, and that forgetfulness of its own assertions, by which it often unwittingly betrays its guilt. They say, that “<sup>2</sup> this wrong to the parish occasioned a suit with Dr. Walton, in his Majestic’s high court of chancery ; where, upon hearing, a reference was made to Sir Edward Littleton, then solicitor-generall, and to Mr. Chute, being then *the counsell on both sides*, to settle the businesse ; who not only allowed the doctor to goe away with the fines he had taken, but *gave allowance also of his charges* ; and upon their report *a decree was passed* ; and now he takes and receives all the rents and proffitts to his own use.” Would not these persons have availed themselves of *their advantage*, if Dr. Walton’s advocate had joined with their’s in opinion, and the decree of chancery had been made *in their favour* ? But we may judge, without breach of charity, what was their pretence, when their own defender decided against it ; and may pronounce,

<sup>1</sup> Articles and Charges, ut *suprà*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

without hesitation, that the salary was paid out of Dr. Walton's own legal possessions.

His accusers proceed to censure Dr. Walton's demand for tithes, and the suits at law which he had instituted to obtain the demand where refused. They represent him exacting his claims with threats ; and harassing themselves with informations and excommunications ; making them a prey to officers, and leaving them at last, though wronged, without relief. Their eloquence respecting these tithes is evidently intended to be more impressive, however laboured, than any which may be found in other parts of these articles. Such was one of the highly coloured charges against Archbishop Laud, for having assisted the Clergy of London in the business of their tithes ; in which he solemnly <sup>a</sup> professes to have thought of nothing, as we may safely believe Dr. Walton did nothing, contrary to law.

But in order to wind up their articles and charges against Dr. Walton, with the highest possible effect, the accusers leave the melting mood, and introduce the accused as reviling some distinguished citizens of that period ; patriots, whose ardour Dr. Walton was not eager to com-

<sup>1</sup> Articles and Charges, ut *suprà*.

<sup>a</sup> History of the Troubles, &c. of Archbishop Laud, p. 252.

mend, and whose views he was not at a loss to discover. " <sup>a</sup> He disgracefully and contemptuously," the accusers say, " asperseth those persons of qualitie and worth, which at this time serve the Commonwealth in the honourable house of parliament, as men chosen for the knights and burgesses of this city ; affirming that the city had chosen Soame, because he would not pay ship-money ; Vassal, because he would not pay the king his customes ; Pennington, because he entertains silenced ministers, and Cradocke to send them over into New England." These accusers of Dr. Walton conclude their petition with an unintentional ambiguity in beseeching Parliament " <sup>o</sup> to examine *their abuses*, and to take some course for their reformation !"

About the latter end of 1642, we find Dr. Walton " <sup>p</sup> sent for into custody as a delinquent." And then it was, that the triumphant enemies of the King and Clergy had recourse to a kind of pastime, as it was termed, in summoning before a committee of religion, or of sequestration, or of that which was called " <sup>q</sup> of or for

<sup>a</sup> Articles and Charges, ut *suprà*.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. p. 56.

<sup>q</sup> Lilly, *History of his Life and Times*, from 1602 to 1681. edit. 12mo. 1715, p. 59.

plundered ministers," as Lilly, one of their own tools, relates, such "*ambodexters*," he says, "*they were*;" it was then, I say, that many loyal and learned ecclesiastics were summoned before a committee, and treated with all the insolence of which none but men of ignoble minds are capable.

"These committees," (they are the words of an eye-witness,) "these committees were made as several *stages for continual clergy-bailings*. Mine ears still tingle at the loud clamours and shoutings there made, especially at the committee which sat at the court of wards, in derision of grave and reverend divines, by that rabble of sectaries, which daily flocked thither *to see this new pastime ; where the committee-members, out of their vast privilege to abuse any man, (though their betters, and some, members of the convocation, whose privileges are, and by law ought to be, as large as those of the house of commons,) without controul, have been pleased to call the ministers of Christ, brought before them, saucy Jacks, base fellows, brasen-faced fellows*. And in great scorn has the cap of a known orthodox doctor been called to be pulled off, to see if he were not a shaven popish priest ! And to some

\* The author of *Persecutio Undecima*, cited by Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. p. 68.

eminent doctors of divinity in the city of London, Dr. Baker, Dr. Brough, and Dr. Walton, giving testimony in a cause then before them, it was said by a citizen, member of that committee, (' Isaac Pennington, ) *What shall we believe these doctors for ?* And Sir Robert Harlow, going to his committee-chair, *the chair of the scorner*, bragged to his friend, *how he would bait the dean of Christ Church !*"

But it was not enough, that the '*men of wit*' exercised their talents upon the Clergy thus in their power: the co-operation of graver combatants also was abundantly brought against

\* Of whom, see before, p. 11.

\* I select a sample or two from the rapid jokes which were then tolerated in the House of Commons, when directed against the Clergy: " I hope, by the helpe of this house, before this yeare of threats be run out, his Grace will either have more grace, or no grace at all ! " Four Speeches made by Sir Edward Dering, in the High Court of Parliament, &c. 1641, p. 4. " My humble motion is, that every member of the assembly, who voted their Canons, may come severally to the barre of this House, with a booke of Canons in his hand, and there; unlesse he can answer the catechisme-question, as I called it, better than I expect he can, *conceptis verbis*, in such expresse terms as this honourable House shall then thinke fitt, he shall abjure his own issue, and be commanded to give fire to his own cannons ! " Ibid. p. 11, 12.



them. There were ecclesiastical fomenters, even to satiety, of the present rebellion; men, who\*, not having worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way, envied the just honours of better persons; and, despairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, aspired to it by the crooked means of faction and schism. And to this end the pulpit became the vehicle of the most malicious slander upon those, who had delivered from it what was orthodox and loyal. “<sup>2</sup> Ah, worthy Sirs,” said one who was noted for *exasperating the people to rebel and confound episcopacy*, in his address to the members of the house of commons; “Ah, worthy Sirs, it would amaze any ingenuous man to travaile such a country as England, and passing through many parishes, this, after all, is his diurnall; the patron is popish, the minister is an idle dunce, or else a drunkard, or else a swearer, or else a scoffer, preaching all holinesse out of his Church, out of his family, out of his parish!” The same meek preacher calls upon his auditors, therefore, (ra-

\* See *Modern Policies, &c.* by an Eye-Witness, (Archbishop Sancroft,) 1657, Prin. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *England's Preservation*, a Sermon, preached before the House of Commons, by Obadiah Sedgwick, May, 1642, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> A. Wood, Athen. Oxon.

ther quaintly,) “ \* to plant all the land with an *heart-breaking* ministry !” Such men were called “ \* able preaching ministers ;” and by one of them, expressly so described, Dr. Walton was supplanted at Sandon ; the possession of which rectory was bestowed by *the parliament*, when the presentation undoubtedly belonged to another patron.

There is no record of Dr. Walton having defended himself before his unjust judges. But it is probable that a man of his spirit and talents would not silently endure their insolence, however unavailing might be his remonstrance. It seems, that some of these *baited* ecclesiastics did

\* England's Preservation, ut *suprà*, p. 28.

\* Parliamentary Survey of Livings, Lambeth MSS. Vol. 8. fol. 201. Sometimes these gentlemen derive further honourable mention from observing “ the monthly fasts, and humiliations,” &c. On the other hand, the orthodox Clergy are usually designated as ignorant, idle, not observant of parliamentary directions, malignant, &c. which last epithet, by the way, I would observe, Fuller imagines to have now first come into general use ; which I doubt. However, in his Church History, as his manner is, he thus affects to be witty upon it : “ About this time, 1642, the word *malignant* was first born, as to the common use : the deduction thereof being disputable, whether from *bad fire*, or *bad jewel*, *malus ignis*, or *malum lignum* : but this is sure, betwixt both, the name made a great combustion !”

remoustrate against the conduct which they experienced. For Obadiah Sedgwick called upon the House of Commons to proceed with such men in the most summary way. “<sup>b</sup> Doth boldnesse in a questioned minister displease you? O then let his grosse wickednesse stirre you utterly to disburden poore peoples’ soules of him !”

Dr. Walton is <sup>c</sup> supposed to have been dispossessed of both his rectories in 1641. We may imagine him, after being deprived of his London benefice, retiring perhaps not altogether hopeless to Sandon, where, as also in his London parish, he has been described as much respected and beloved by the loyal and orthodox. But thither also persecution followed him ; and once, when sought for by a party of horse sent in pursuit of him, he was <sup>d</sup> forced to shelter himself in a broom-field. Yet the manner of his sequestration from this rectory at least shews, that the parishioners were concerned in it only by solicitation or compulsion. For the articles against him, in order to this sequestration, were drawn up by Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Ash, two members of parliament, who had no concern whatever in the parish ; and by them <sup>e</sup> sent to

<sup>b</sup> England’s Preservation, ut suprà. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Morant, History of Essex, Vol. 2. p. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. pp. 53, 54.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. See also the various disingenuous methods which

Sandon for subscription. They who could thus direct combination against his property, would have little scruple in exciting enmity to his person. And though oppression and insult only might be intended, yet there was danger of his life, an 'historian has said, if he had not now fled to Oxford.

Oxford was, at this time, the retreat of very many of the loyal and learned Clergy. For the place had as yet been promised only the precious reform, which elsewhere was begun. Vicars, the canting chronicler, under the year 1641, has recorded, that "our blessed parliamentarie worthies have given us great hope of timely purging the two famous fountains of our kingdom, Oxford and Cambridge, from the much myre and mud of Romish innovations; which, settling there also, hath made their streams stink of poperie:—we have, I say, great hopes, that our parliament will seasonably provide a soveraigne collyrium, or eye-salve, some well-distilled eye-bright of reformation, to purifie the sight of these two, once most glorious lights in the whole Christian world!"

Dr. Walton is said to have written at Oxford an

were practised in procuring petitions against the Clergy, in Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Book III.

<sup>f</sup> Lloyd, *Memoirs of Persons that suffered in our Intestine Wars*, Vol. 1668. p. 513.

<sup>g</sup> Vicars, *Parliamentary Chronicle*, p. 40.

"Answer to an Ungodly Pamphlet, in Defence of the Church of England." But, after diligent search in various libraries for this alleged performance, I have been unable to find it. It is remarkable, that Wood takes no notice of it; to whom, however, a tract of this nature, and formed at such a time and place, is not likely to have been unknown, if it had ever existed. Dr. Twells, who has told us much of Dr. Walton and his works, is also silent as to this pamphlet. The <sup>a</sup>authority, upon which the publication has been ascribed to Dr. Walton, is, in fact, very slender; and perhaps has been assumed, in the character given of him upon the occasion of his consecration, from some imperfect description of his *Considerator considered*, in which the Church of England is indeed occasionally defended with admirable energy and truth.

That Dr. Walton formed at Oxford his design of publishing a Polyglot Bible, has been often asserted and never questioned. There he would meet with men of kindred minds and studies, with Usher, and Greaves, and Pocock; with Clarke

<sup>a</sup> The newspaper of that period, entitled Public Intelligence; cited by Bishop Kennet in his Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil, 1728, p. 323. The Biographia Britannica has adopted the information. But no proof is there produced, or has been since, that Dr. Walton wrote a pamphlet with that title.

and Huish ; with several also of those possessing similar learning, who were then forced to leave the University of Cambridge, on account of their loyalty and orthodoxy ; among whom Dr. Fuller and others, with himself, were there incorporated doctors in divinity, Aug. 12, <sup>1</sup>1645. After the surrender of Oxford, he probably returned to the metropolis ; finding it miserable to live among degenerate sons, who, “<sup>k</sup> even against the light of their eyes, as well as consciences, charged the breasts that gave them suck with infected, poyson’d, milke ; and belyed their spotlesse mother, as if she were turned strumpet ; or as if it were growne a place, from whence piety, and gifts, and true religion have long since taken flight ; a place which needs conversion, and which affords nothing but dangerous education, of which crime, I confesse, I know not whether *she* be guilty, unlesse it be for bringing forth *such abortive lying sonnes, who thus make it part of their religion to revile her !*” The hand which penned this honourably indignant sentence, has written another, of similar import, sufficient to shew, that ignorance and insolence might indeed intrude, or

<sup>1</sup> A. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*. The *Biographia Britannica* has mistakenly mentioned this incorporation as having been made in 1660.

<sup>k</sup> Sermon at St. Mary’s, Oxford, by Dr. Jasper Mayne, 4to. 1646. p. 27.

be intruded, into the hallowed seat of learning, but not without incurring the severest reprehension of their rashness, nor without witnessing a due resentment against those who had directed thither such unworthy guests. “<sup>1</sup> Fathers and brethren, of this university, I presume it could not but seem strange to you, to heare your manners and religion, as well as studies and learning, not long since publicquely reprov'd, and preach't against, out of this pulpit by men, who profess themselves, indeed, to be prophets; but, discovering to you so little as they did of the abilities of prophets' sonnes, could not but seem to you very unfit reformers or instructors of this place. I presume also, that with a serious grieve of heart you cannot but resent, that there should be thought to be such a dearth and scarcity of able vertuous men among us, that the great councill of this kingdome, in pity to our wants, should thinke it needfull to send us men *better gifted*; to teach us how to *preach* !”

We, therefore, follow Dr. Walton, laden perhaps with many important collections for his purpose, from Oxford to London; where we find him in the house of Dr. Fuller, already mentioned, who had been vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, still re-

<sup>1</sup> Sermon at St. Mary's Oxford, by Dr. Jasper Mayne, 4to. 1646. p. 35.

siding, though dispossessed both of the benefice and of a deanery, near the church of that parish ; and whose daughter Jane was now the second wife of Dr. Walton.

Having submitted to the advice of many judicious friends, and of most of the English bishops then living, an account of his plan and of the materials which he had spent so much time in procuring, Dr. Walton proceeded, in 1652, to publish a description of the intended work, and proposals also for printing it, together with a recommendatory letter annexed to them. Of the description Dr. Twells and Dr. Clarke, who have made various observations upon the London Polyglot, have taken no notice. It, therefore, forms a part of the next chapter, which comprehends a fuller history of this invaluable publication, than has hitherto been given to the world.



## CHAPTER II.

*Account of the beginning, progress, and completion, of the  
London Polyglot.*

"I WENT to London," says the amiable and pious Evelyn, "where was proposed to me, November 22, 1652, the promoting that great work, (since accomplished by Dr. Walton, bishop of Chester,) *Biblia Polyglotta*, by Mr. \* Pierson, that most learned divine." This is the earliest recorded instance, which I have met with, of the activity employed by the friends of Dr. Walton; which, indeed, was at length so successful, that, \* before the close of that year, subscriptions to the value of near 4000*l.* were obtained; and, soon afterwards, were more than doubled.

The description and proposals, of which mention has been made, were now distributed; and are here subjoined.

"*A Brief Description of an Edition of the*

\* Evelyn's *Memoirs*, Vol. i. p. 263.

\* Afterwards Bishop of Chester, one of the completest divines of that age.

\* Twells's *Life of Pocock*, §. 3.

‡ Copied from a volume of *Tracts* in folio, in the British Museum, among those which were the gift of his late most excellent Majesty, King George III.

*Bible in the Original Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek, with the most ancient Translations of the Jewish and Christian Churches, viz. the Sept. Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, &c. and the Latin Versions of them all : a new Apparatus, &c.*

“ Whereas the ground of faith is the Word of God, contained in the Scriptures, it must needs be a work of highest consequence to preserve those sacred oracles in their original purity, freed, as much as may be, from all possibility of error that may arise, either by the negligence of scribes, and injury of times, or by the wilful corruption of sectaries and heretics, which, as was foretold, abound in these latter times, and so to transmit them to posterity.

“ To this end nothing can more conduce than the publishing of the Original Text, according to the best Copies and Editions, with the most ancient Translations, which have been of greatest authority in the Church, especially those of the eastern languages ; which, in regard of their affinity and nearness to the Original, are fittest to express, and, in regard of their antiquity and general use, in the first and purest ages, are the truest glasses to represent that sense, and reading, which was then generally received into the Church of Christ, to whose care the custody of the Scriptures is committed ; the comparing of

which together hath always been accounted one of the best means to attain the true sense in places doubtful, and to find out and restore the true reading of the Text where any variety appears.

“ Besides this, the harmony and consent of so many ancient Copies, and Translations, made in several ages and parts of the world, so far remote one from another, and continued to this day, agreeing all in matters of moment, are no less the voice of God testifying from heaven, that those books proceeded from a Divine Author, who hath so marvellously owned and preserved them in all parts of the world, among so many changes and revolutions that have happened, maugre the malice and power of Satan, labouring, by heretics and sectaries, to corrupt, and by persecutors to extirpate, the Scriptures, and therewith Christian Religion.

“ Therefore, in the greatest empires and kingdoms of the world, God hath so ordered by his wise Providence, that the Scriptures have been either originally written, or translated into these languages, and by that means spread over the world, (though besides the intention of the conquerours,) as appears by the Hebrew and Greek Originals, the Syriac, Chaldee, Persian, Arabic, Latin, Ethiopic, and other Translations; in which the praises of God have been sounded forth over

the world, by means of the Assyrian, Greek, Persian, Romans', &c. conquests and victories.

"Hence it was, that when Origen composed his Tetrapla, Hexapla, and Octopla, though they consisted only of the Hebrew and diverse Greek Translations, disposed in several columns, yet they were received with such general applause, that, as St. Jerom saith, they presently filled all libraries.

"The like care hath been taken, in this last age, by sundry Editions of the Original Texts, and of sundry ancient Translations, made by the pains and industry of learned men, and by the munificence of princes and others; yet none of them are so complete and perfect, though of great use and high esteem in the Church, but that the diligence of those, that come after, may add something to perfect the work which they begun, as the authors of those Editions have done to those before them.

"The chief Editions of this last age, (not to mention those by Bomberg, Vatablus, Buxtorf, Stephanus, Munster, Hutter, and others,) are, I. The Complutense. II. The Antwerp. III. The Parisian.

"I. The Complutense was set forth by the Complutense divines, at the charges of Cardinal Ximeneus, Archbishop of Toledo, in six volumes, anno 1520; wherein is contained, 1. The Old

Testament Hebrew. 2. The Vulgar Latin. 3. The Septaguint Greek, and Latin. 4. The Chaldee Paraphrase by Onkelos upon the Pentateuch, with the Latin Translation. 5. The New Testament, Greek and Latin. 6. An Apparatus, consisting of an Hebrew and Chaldean Lexicon, an Hebrew Grammar, an Index, &c.

“ II. The Antwerp Bibles, in eight great volumes, set forth by Arias Montanus, and other learned men, at the charges of the king of Spain, anno 1572; wherein is added to the Complutense, 1. The Chaldee Paraphrase, upon the rest of the Old Testament, by Jonathan and Joseph Cæcus, with the Latin. 2. The Interlineal Translation of the Old and New Testament. 3. The Syriac New Testament, in Syriac and Hebrew characters, with the Latin. 4. An Apparatus, in two volumes, containing divers Lexicons and Grammars, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Greek, with some Tracts for better understanding the Text; some Idiotisms; few Various Readings; divers Indices, &c.

“ III. The Parisian Bibles, in ten large tomes, anno 1645, set forth by Michael Le Jay, Morinus, Gabriel Sionita, and others, by authority of the Cardinals Richlieu and Mazarine, and the French Bishops; wherein is added to the Antwerp Bible, which (except the Apparatus) is herewith reprinted; 1. The Old Testament,

Syriac and Latin. 2. The Arabic Old Testament and New, with the Latin. 3. The Samaritan Pentateuch, with the Samaritan and Latin Versions. But here is no interlineal or other literal Translation of the Hebrew into Latin; none of the Apparatus at all, as in the other Editions; no Various Readings in any language; no Index; no Idiotisms; (the Edition being abruptly put forth, by reason of some difference among the publishers;) but only the Text in the several languages, and those not according to the best Copies.

“ Though these Editions be justly had in high esteem, the second of which was styled, by some learned men, *orbis miraculum*, though it come short of the third; yet it must be confessed, that divers ancient and useful Translations may be added; that there are better Copies now, than those followed in the former Editions; that many things useful then, but needless now, may be taken away; that a new Apparatus, far more useful, may be framed; and the several languages digested in better method; besides the greatness of the price, and vastness of the volumes, which makes them scarce useful for private libraries, being printed in such paper and characters as served rather for pomp than use; (that of Paris being sold at 45 or 50 li. the price of an ordinary library;) so that without detracting from

the just praises of the publishers, (whose labours must be made use of, as they did of other men's that were before them,) it may be said, that a more perfect and useful Edition, than any yet extant, may be made in five or six ordinary volumes, which may be had at a fourth or fifth part of the price of those of Paris, or thereabouts. The several parts whereof follow.

" 1. The Old Testament Hebrew and the New Testament Greek, with the interlineal Translation which is wanting in the Paris and Complutense Bibles.

" 2. The Vulgar Latin, according to the accurate edition of Sixtus Quintus, and Clement 8. wherein many 1000 errors and faults of the former Editions are corrected, as appears by the Catalogue set forth by Lucas Brugensis.

" 3. The Roman Septuagint, the Greek whereof was printed by the most ancient Vatican Copy, written, as is conceived, before St. Jerom's time, which is without doubt the most authentic of any yet extant. The Latin was gathered out of the monuments of the most ancient writers by the great industry of Nobilius, whereby the old Vulgar Latin used in the West, before St. Jerom's Translation, is restored and preserved: whereas the Septuagint followed in the other Editions is made only to agree with the modern Hebrew, and accordingly enlarged or cut short, and may be

better called a new Greek Translation of the modern Hebrew, than a true Edition of the old Septuagint.

“ 4. The Chaldee Paraphrase on the Old Testament, by Onkelos upon the Pentateuch, and by Jonathan upon Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Prophets, about our Saviour's time; and by Jos. Cæcus upon the rest, written afterwards. All according to Buxtorf's exact Edition, wherein many thousand errors are corrected, and the points, which were added by some ignorant Jew after the invention of points, are rectified and reduced to the analogy of Ezra and Daniel, which was only in part attempted by Arias Montanus, but not perfected, as himself acknowledges. The Latin Translation also amended, according to Paulus Fagius, and others.

“ 5. The Syriac Old and New Testament (the native language of Christ and his Apostles) corrected by Copies transcribed out of the most ancient and perfect MSS. remaining with the Patriarch of Antioch, which is according to the old and simple Edition (as it is called) translated out of Hebrew about the Apostles' times; the other Syriac Edition out of the Septuagint being long after. That of the Paris Bibles had many *lacunas*, which they supplied *ex proprio ingenio*.

“ 6. The Arabic Old and New Testament corrected and compared with those parts set out by



Erpenius and others, and with other Copies here in public and private libraries.

“7. The Samaritan Pentateuch (the old Hebrew text, as is conceived, about Esdras’s time, if not before,) in the Samaritan character which is the old Hebrew letter, before Esdras changed it into the Assyrian, (the modern Hebrew,) after the return from Babylon.

“8. The Persian Pentateuch, by Jacobus Tawosus, (formerly printed by the Jews in the Constantinopolitan Bibles in Hebrew characters,) put into Persian characters, and translated into Latin, not extant before in any of those other Editions.

“9. The Persian Evangelists, with the Latin Version, which are now at the press, published by Mr. Wheelock, a learned linguist, and not extant heretofore.

“10. The Ethiopic Psalms, Canticles, and New Testament, with the Latin Version, not extant in any former Edition.

“11. Jonathan’s Targum upon the Pentateuch. The Jerusalem Targum upon the Pentateuch, with the Latin Translation by Pellican or Tay-

† Dr. Walton did not exactly follow these proposals. He did not publish Wheelock’s work in the Polyglot, though highly obliged to him; but another copy of the Persian Gospels. See the account of *Wheelock* in the last chapter of these Memoirs. So, with regard to the Jerusalem Tar-

lor. The Masoreth Hebrew and Latin, with Buxtorf's Clavis Masorethica, and his Castigationes

gum, presently mentioned, hear what Dr. Walton *afterwards* said of it: "Jonathanis verò [Targum,] et Hierosolymitana, quarum prima Latine hactenus non extitit, nunc primum Latio donata prodit. *Hierosolymitanæ* etiam, licet à Taylero nuper Latine edita sit, cum tamen multis erroribus scateat ejus versio, aliam magis accuratam dedimus; quod, qui ejus versionem cum nostra contulerint, facileprehendent, &c." Prolegom. xii. §. 20.

The edition of the Jerusalem Targum was published by Francis Tayler, or Taylor, in 1649; at which time he was one of the six preachers in the cathedral of Canterbury. Archbishop Laud appears to have promoted him. His Liber Cosri is among the Lambeth MSS.; and among Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, are several of his works, the fruits of his Oriental learning. Of these some have been printed. He was also the friend of Selden; and prefixed to his edition of the Targum in question is a very curious letter from that eminent scholar to him; which, as it has escaped the notice of a learned librarian at Lambeth Palace, Dr. David Wilkins, in his Life, Letters, and Works of Selden, I will here subjoin.

"Viro clarissimo doctissimoque, Francisco Taylero, Joannes Seldenus salutem.

"Quod secessu frueris jam, mi Taylere, rustico, gratulor equidem. Puto scilicet brevi, et valetudinis solùm causa. Neque ferè alia sufficit, ut urbano quotidianoque theologorum consessui, cujus pars tu peregregia atque una è paucis, omninò non intersis. Sed spero eam non adeò adversam, quin studiis, ut soles, etiam severioribus, ibi incumbere queas. Et si queas, quin velis etiam nullus dubito. Si ita sit, interpellare mihi liceat hoc otium, atque impetrare ut è de-

**Masoræ.** All which may be added as an Appendix to the Old Testament. None of them are in those other Editions.

litescentibus lucubrationum tuarum schedis *Targum Pentateuchi Hierosolymitanum Latine à te olim feliciter redditum*, typis jam, quod quantillo tempore fieri satis commodè opinor potest, adornes. Opus quidè exiguum; sed interpretis, qui non sit eruditissimus, id est, tu tuive similis, planè impatiens. Orientalis disciplinæ, seu Talmudicæ, in eo monumenta sunt ac vestigia aliquot non contemnenda. Certè sine ea triumphos agit nunc ridiculos, nunc perniciosos nimis in Occidente, pomposa et alioquin docta multorum ignorantia; quæ dum origines primosque rerum morumque in sacris literis occurrentium fontes nimium nescit, somnia sibi, sed quæ è re inter homines suâ fuerint, audacissimè fingit, aliisque vaferrimè, ut sarcinas, imponit. Sic Pontificii, non rarè. Sic alii; qui et *nova lumina* sibi velut cœlitus orta, si quis adversetur, statim obtundunt. Certè sidereis nuntiis, qui, telescopii vitrei beneficio, lyncei facti, stellas docuere novas, credimus, gratias habemus, maximi eos idque merittissimè facimus. Non ita, ubi quis, suæ tantum oculorum aciei, utcunque depravatæ, temerè confisus, nescio quot lanas solesve in cœlo, aut leones draconesve in nubibus, cernere se asseverat. Telescopii usu communicato, idem ipsum cum nunciis illis cernimus ipsi, aliàs ignari. Quod paritèr de Orientalis disciplinæ, unde Christianismi totius ortus, usu dicendum. Citra eam, creberrimè in sacrorum judiciis fallimur, fallimusque conjectando ingenii que qualiscunque venditando portenta. Sed hæc obiter. Ut lucem cum primis meretur *illa tua Versio*, ita à studiosis, quorum pauci originem intelligunt, summoperè desideratur. Non modò Germaniæ suæ *Fagius*, ac suis *Ximenius* Hispaniis, sed etiam orbi nostro Christiano decus fuit uterque, insigne erit-

" 12. The several languages shall be printed in several columns, whereby they may all be presented to the reader's view at once; whereas in the other Editions divers great volumes must be turned over to compare them together.

" 13. Whereas there is no Apparatus or Various Readings, &c. in the Paris Bibles, and the Apparatus in the Antwerp and Complut. consisting of Grammars, Lexicons, Tracts, &c. are not so needful now, there being so many helps extant since, and those more exact; therefore here shall be added what is most necessary and proper, and yet is wanting in the former, viz. a just volume of the Various Readings of all former Editions and Copies in all the languages, (a work of as great use to the reader, as if he had all former Copies and Editions,) with some other things fit to be added, viz. 1. An extract out of Cappellus's *Critica Sacra*, and others, concerning the Various Read-

que æternum, ob *Onkelianum* Latio donatum. Si frustra non fuero heic ipse, tum jaetabit hinc meritò Anglia tua *Hierosolymitani* te editorem, tum mecum procudubio instantius urgebit ut *Codici* etiam *Coxiani*, disciplinæ Talmudicæ refertissimi, *Versionem tuam*, atque id genus eruditionis tuæ reconditæ factus reliquos, in lucem emittas. Tibi, studiisque tuis, faveat semper Deus Opt. Max. et amare me perge reverà tai amantissimum. Jun. 26. 1646. *Ab ædibus Carmeliticis, Londiai*,"

It appears, that Tayler was one of the Assembly of Divines; probably through the means of Selden.

ings; Lucas Brug. de Variantibus Locis Scripturæ, and his two tracts, 1. De Græcis, 2. De Latinis Varietatibus. II. The Keri and Ketib, &c. with the other Various Readings of the Hebrew. III. The differences of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the modern Hebrew, collected heretofore by Dr. Comber. IV. The Various Readings of the LXX. and the other old Greek Translations by Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus; the five and six anonymous Translations collected by Nobilius in the Roman Septuagint, and by Drusius in his *Fragmenta Veterum Translationum Græcarum*; to which may be added the different reading of that ancient MS. the Alexandrian Septuagint, (supposed by some to be written by S. Tecla,) which is now about to be printed. V. The Various Readings and Collections of the Vulgar Latin collected by Lucas Brugensis in several tracts. VI. The places restored in the Chaldee Paraphrase by Buxtorf, with a tract by him thereupon written, but not yet printed, and a tract of the use of the Chaldee Paraphrase by Lucas Brugensis. VII. The places restored and corrected in the Syriac and Arabic, with the Various Readings out of Erpenius and others. VIII. The Various Readings of the New Testament by Stephanus, Casaubon, and others, with the Readings out of the Greek, the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Cophti, &c. Versions of the New Testa-

ment, out of Lud. de Dieu, Munster, Kirkensten, Mr. Pocock, and others. X. The Idiotisms of the Hebrew and Greek. XI. The explication of the proper names in Scripture, Hebrew, Greek, Latin. XII. A perfect Chronology. XIII. Several Indices.

“ 14. Before all. I. Divers Prolegomena and Prefaces concerning the several Editions and Translations, their antiquity, authority, and use. II. Geographical Tables of the world. The land of Canaan. III. Arias Montanus's Exemplar, seu De sacris fabricis, and his Aaron, seu De vestibus sacris, with the figures cut in brass. IV. Alphabetical Tables of the several languages, and what else upon further advice with learned men shall be thought fit.

*“ The Approbation of several eminent and learned men.*

“ Whereas there hath been presented unto us a draught of an Edition of the Bible in the original and other learned languages, with a proof of printed paper, wherein the same are in several columns represented to the reader's view at once, and that (as is suggested) according to better Copies and Editions than those of the Complut. Antwerp, and Paris Bibles, besides sundry needful additions which are wanting in them, whereby the Edition will become more perfect, and fitter for

use than those formerly mentioned, and yet the price very much lessened : We, whose names are subscribed, having viewed and well considered the said design, and being desired to give our judgments and opinions thereof, do conceive, that both in regard of the said Editions and Copies, which are more exact and perfect than those followed in the other Bibles ; and of the Various Readings and Additions mentioned in the said draught ; as also of the method and order, wherein the said languages are digested ; this work will become more complete and perfect, and also more useful than any that hath been hitherto published in that kind ; and that the printing thereof will conduce much to the glory of God, and the public honour of our nation. And therefore we do heartily desire that it may receive all due encouragement from all whom it may concern.

*“ Ja. Armachanus,*

*“ J. Selden.*

*“ To these may be added the concurrent suffrage of divers others, the most reverend and learned men of this Church, whose several testimonies would be too long to insert, but shall be produced if there be occasion : The Council of State, by their order bearing date Sunday, the*

*11th of July, 1652, having given their approbation and allowance of the work, declaring the same to be very honourable, and deserving encouragement : And it is hoped they will promote the publishing of it."*

Such was the prospectus. It was followed by the proposals and letter for promoting the publication of the work.

*" ' Propositions concerning the printing of the Bible, in the original and other learned languages.*

*" Whereas the former Editions, though less perfect, and not so fit for use, have been printed at the public charge of princes and great persons ; and the charge of this work will exceed the ability of an ordinary person ; whereupon divers*

*' Dr. Twells in his Life of Pocock, and Dr. Clarke in his Biographical Dictionary, have printed the Letter, which here follows the Propositions, before them. But the date of the Letter being subsequent to one named in the Propositions, would be sufficient to justify the present prece-  
dency ; if there were no other reason. The Propositions, however, appear to have been circulated without the letter ; and I have seen the dates of both of 1652 and 1653 affixed to them. The British Museum Copy has the latter date, altered with a pen to 1652, and having in the margin the manuscript addition of February. But this was certainly Feb. 1652-3. And these Copies at first presented the names in the first, second, and sixth propositions written, and not*



persons of worth have expressed their readiness to join in the charge of the impression : and it is hoped, that others, who wish well to learning and religion, will assist in a work so much tending to the public good, and honour of the Church of England and of the nation, and so free from interests of all parties ; especially considering, that as the Edition will be much better than any formerly made, so the price will be much less.

“ Therefore, for the securing of all such as shall promote so good a work, either by free gift, or advancing of monies to be repaid by copies ; and for the encouraging of such as shall solicit and stir up others to contribute, these propositions are offered, which shall, God willing, be performed.

“ 1. That whatsoever monies shall be raised, shall be paid into the hands of *William Humble, Esq.* treasurer for this purpose, who will be accountable for the monies received, and will give receipts to every one, that shall pay in any money, whereby they may be assured, that the same shall be employed no otherwise, than for the use intended, and not issued out, but by warrant of persons mentioned.

“ 2. The like assurance shall be given under

printed ; as appears by that which belongs to the Library of Sidney College, Cambridge.

• Dr. Twells and Dr. Clarke have consolidated this and

the hand of the publisher, and upon security of the impression, which shall be put into the hands of some persons interested, residing in London, for receiving copies proportionable to the sums so paid, as soon as the work shall be finished, or otherwise, as the several volumes shall be printed.

“ 3. The treasurer shall not issue any monies, but by warrant under the hands of the *Lord Primate of Armagh*, *Dr. William Fuller*, *Dr. Brune Ryves*, *Dr. Samuel Baker*, *Mr. Richard Drake*, B. D. or two of them, whereof the *Lord Primate*, or *Dr. Fuller*, to be one ; and shall give account every six months to four persons appointed, by those that advance, to receive the accounts of all monies received or issued out, which shall be showed to all persons interested, who shall desire the same.

“ 4. Those that by free gift, or otherwise, shall in any considerable manner further the work, besides copies to be given them, shall be acknowledged as patrons or promoters of so noble a work.

“ 5. Those that shall collect and raise any sum by the free contribution of persons well affected, shall, for every 10*l.* have one copy ; and if any lesser sum of 40*s.* or upwards be so raised by

the preceding proposition into one: the original paper is here followed.

any at present, if the said sum be made up 10*l.* by equal payments in four six months next following, he shall have one perfect copy, and so according to that proportion\* for any greater sum.

“ 6. Those that shall advance any sum out of their own estate, shall, for every 10*l.* have one copy, and for 50*l.* six copies, and so for any greater sum; and the money so advanced shall, for the ease and security of the advancer be paid thus: only a fifth part in hand, and the rest in four six months; and, at every six months payment, account shall be given of the monies formerly paid, and of the progress of the work, and then they may also receive such volumes, as shall be finished, according to the number of copies due to them, if they please, they paying another fifth part towards the printing of the next volume.

“ 7. The persons to be employed in preparing of copies, correcting the press, overseeing the managing of the work, &c.—till all be finished, shall be ‘ *Dr. Stokes, Mr. Wheelock, Mr. Thorn-dike, Mr. Edward Pocock, Mr. Greaves, Mr. Vicars, Mr. Thomas Smith*, together with *Dr.*

\* The British Museum Copy exhibits in the margin, written apparently in a coeval hand, *Mr. Gataker, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Clarke*; the name of *Buckley*, or *Bunchley*, occurs also in this proposition; and that of *Fearne*, followed by *Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Dupont, &c.*

*Walton*, and some other to assist in prosecution of business, &c. And if any of them shall happen to die, or be otherwise hindered, some other shall be nominated with approbation of the rest, for carrying on the work, wherein the advice of the *Lord Primate*, *Mr. Selden*, *Dr. Sheldon*, *Dr. Saunderson*, *Dr. Sterne*, *Dr. Hammond*, and other learned men, who have approved the work, shall be desired, &c.

“ 8. The work shall not be begun, till there be enough paid in to finish the first volume, viz. the *Pentateuch*, viz. about 1500*l.*; nor the other volumes, till a proportionable sum for each be brought in, viz. about 1200*l.*

“ 9. It is desired that the first payment of monies to be advanced, may be at or before the 1st of February, 1652, and if it shall appear, that there is enough to print the first volume, viz. the *Pentateuch*, the work shall be begun, as soon as things needful shall be prepared, which is hoped will be within three months then next following; and within three years after it is hoped the whole work will be perfected, (two presses being kept at work.)

“ 10. Whatever shall be further reasonably devised or propounded for the better managing and carrying on of the work, and securing of all persons interested, shall be willingly assented to.

“ Printed by R. Norton, for Timothy Garth-

wayt, at the lesser North Gate of St. Paul's Church, London. 1652."

The Letter was this—

" Worthy Sir,

" It cannot be unknown to you what great benefit the Church of God hath reaped by the care of learned men in publishing the Holy Scriptures according to the best Copies in the original, and other learned tongues, with the most ancient and approved Translations, which have been of great authority and use. And although among others, those famous editions of the Complutense, Antwerp, and the late Paris Bibles, be justly had in high esteem and veneration; yet, without any derogation from the just praise of the publishers, it may be truly said, that much may be added to make the Editions more complete and useful by the diligence of others, and yet the price very much lessened, whereby they may become more common, and fit for private libraries. To this end, there is a <sup>a</sup> description of a more perfect Edition than any hitherto extant (as we conceive) drawn up with a <sup>b</sup> specimen thereof, which, as it hath

<sup>a</sup> Namely, that which has been just given, p. 31, et seq.

<sup>b</sup> A single sheet, printed only on one side; a copy of which is in the Library of Sidney College, Cambridge, and contains the first twelve verses of the first chapter of Genesis, in the following order: Textus Hebraicus cum Versione

been approved by the most judicious and learned men of this Church, so, in regard the charge will exceed the ability of a private purse, it hath been thought fit to desire the assistance of such noble and public-spirited persons as are able to advance monies towards the printing, who may receive copies according to the sums by them expended. Wherein, as diverse persons of worth have already subscribed and promised considerable sums, amounting to above half the charge; so it is hoped, that others, to whom it shall be offered, will be ready, both by their own examples, according to their abilities, and by stirring up such well-affected persons as they are acquainted with, to further a work so much tending to the glory of God, the public good of religion and learning, and the honour of our nation. To this purpose also propositions, which with the said de-

*interlineari Sanctis Pagnini ad Hebraicam phrasim diligenter examinata per Bened. Ariam Montanum et alios. Vulgata Latina Translatio S. Hieronym: edit. Sixti 5.<sup>a</sup> Versio Græca LXX. edit. Rom. cum Interpretatione Latina. Paraphrasis Chaldaica, edit. Buxtorf. Chaldaicæ Paraphrasis Translatio. Textus Hebræo-Samaritanus. Versio Samaritana. These, on the one side of the sheet in two divisions of four columns each.—Versio Syriaca cum Interpretatione Latina. Versio Arabica cum Interpretatione Latina. Latina Textus Samaritani Versio. Versio Persica cum Interpretatione Latina. These on the other side in two divisions, one of four columns, the other of three. Londini, Typis Jacobi Flesher.*

scription, and a form of subscription, are herewith sent you ; to which you are desired, out of your zeal to the public good, to procure what subscriptions you can. The form you see is conditional, and ties no man to the payment of any thing, till the full sum be subscribed, and care shall be taken to secure the copies to the subscribers in such a way, as, by the advice of counsel, on the behalf of the subscribers, shall be thought reasonable and just.

“ There are divers employed to this end in divers parts of the land, and so hopeful a progress is made, that we doubt not within a few months but that there will be good encouragement to go on, and to prepare for the work ; for we cannot believe any gentleman will be backward to advance so noble a work, considering that all shall be put in the hands of a person of known worth and integrity, and shall be paid by the subscribers only by degrees as the work goes on, and that they shall receive copies of a greater value than what is laid out. It is desired, that the several subscriptions may be returned by the first of April next, if it may be, or otherwise as soon as conveniently, to Dr. Walton, *at Dr. William Fuller's house, in St. Giles-Cripplegate Church-yard* ; to whom you may likewise direct your letters, if there shall be any other occasion to send

us: we need not say to those who aim at the public good, that the work will recompense the pains of all that shall promote it; of which, yet, we are very confident. Thus, hoping you will use your best endeavours to advance so pious a design, and that the author of those sacred volumes will bless your pains and ours with answerable success, we commit you to his keeping, and rest,

“ Your assured friends,

“ *J. Armachanus,*      *Brian Walton,*

“ *W. Fuller,*      *A. Wheelock,*

“ *Brune Ryves.*      *H. Thorndike.”*

“ London, this first of  
March, 1652.

“ To our worthy friend, Mr. *John Carter*, minister of God's Word in Norwich, by him to be communicated to Mr. *Lovering* and Mr. *Sherman*.”

These printed papers were widely circulated by Dr. Walton's friends; and with them a specimen of the projected Edition. A valuable letter of Abraham Wheelock written, upon this occasion, to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, (of an earlier date than that which has been copied,) is now first publicly cited.



“ Reverend Sir,

“ Your favour and remembrance of me, beinge necessitated to live here with my poore familie at greate charges, deserves from me a gratefull acknowledgment. You have peradventure alreadie heard of a verie worthie designe in printinge of the Bible in the learned and Oriental languages. The undertakers, without my knowledge, are pleased to encourage me soe far as to mention my present worke in hand; as you, Sir, may see in these printed papers sent by my worthie friend to yourselfe [and] Mr. Adams; wherein they promise to adde the Persian to the rest. Dr. Walton (sonne-in-law to Dr. Fuller that was, and yet is called, Deane of Elie,) is a principal agent by potent friends in managinge the worke: he is a Cambridge man, and of Peter-house. The intention is of great concernment in these dayes; and fit to be brought forward into action, and perfection, by Universitie men; that the *great ones* may be further convinced that *their gifted men* have neede of the Universities.

“ I am assured that some heades of colleges in Oxford desire, that this designe may be propounded to their Vice-Chancellor; that they may expresse their zeale in promotinge this worke.

Dr. Walton intreated me to use my interest in some friend to the heads of our universitie.

“ Sir, I should both wronge my skil in good manners, and neglect that assured interest I have in yourselfe, if I should not in soe eminent a work as this is, soe much concerninge God’s glorie and the vindicating of the Gospel *opposed by ranting enthusiasts in these dayes*, acquaint yourselfe herewith before anie man. When the sheete, here sent, was printed off, I corrected at least 80 errata in it. It as yet serves to shew what letters Mr. Flesher, an eminent printer, my friend and printer of my booke, hath. Now, Sir, I am confident that I.<sup>st</sup> you will be pleased to commend this worke, (the most famous worke of this nature that ever was in the worlde,) to the rest of the heads; and (without mentioninge of me) that these were sent to you by one who is trewlie zealous of the honour of Our Universitie.

“ Methinks I see how cheerfullie the fellowes of Sydney College accept of your motion to husband their publick entertainments so frugallie, (at which I humblie thanke you Sir, and them, I have beene often present,) as rather to beaver in the parler with commencers *ἐν χαρισίαις*, than that yourselfe, they, and posteritie should not have this valuable treasure in your librarie; and by the most pious example herein, every

College librarie (besides the publicke) in the Universitie have one. I may not name that person of note, that returned this answer; that the worke was excellent, but the College was poore. But large mercies from God to us, require of us large affections; and some pittance of expressions in workes, (don for ourselves,) as well as words.

“ Your noted providence for the good of your College hath raised you up, Reverend Sir, now into this place you are in, to be helpfull in this eminent designe. I shall be bould (being assured of undoubted, nay, approved zeale to promote learninge and religion,) to acquaint the Lord Primate of Ireland herewith, that I have presumed to send to you for this purpose. You will say, we shall meete with troubles this yeare. O, but sweeten them, &c. with our resolution to serve God, with some costs and charges: and the cisterne is not emptie, while the fountaine is open to it. I forbear urginge anie tutors, &c. to put their noblemen and fellow-commoners in minde to subscribe somewhat, &c.

“ I remaine your worship’s poore friend,  
and humble servant,

“ *Abraham Wheelock.*”

“ Jan. 5, 1652.

It appears that in the preceding year the design had not been wholly settled. For the

great orientalist, Dr. Pocock, in a letter to his compeer Selden, bearing date in Feb. 1651-2, wrote, that “*it seems not yet that there is any such naming of men for that employment; divers are, in discourse, talked of; and there be, I doubt, but a few fit: how to have it proceed without you, I know not; but I know too, that it must be a great diversion to your excellent studies, and a turning them to an illiberal attendance. Whatsoever you wish in it, I shall, as far as I have opportunity, second.*” But, on the 28th of the following July, Dr. Walton <sup>a</sup> wrote to Dr. Pocock, requesting his assistance, *if the impression went on*, either in correcting the Arabic, the proofs being weekly transmitted to him; or in comparing of Copies; or in any other way. Dr. Pocock consented to collate the Arabic Pentateuch with two Copies of Saadiah’s Translation, the one a manuscript, the other printed in the Constantinopolitan Bibles; and drew up also a Preface concerning the Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch, and their Various Readings; both which are now found in the London Polyglot Bible.

The impression went on. And with Dr. Pocock frequent correspondence was now main-

<sup>a</sup> Twells’s Life of Pocock, §. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

tained by Dr. Walton, who asked his <sup>b</sup> advice, which was readily given, upon almost every step taken in it; acquainting him regularly with its progress. One of the first and most interesting accounts which Dr. Walton communicated to this learned friend, was, that “<sup>c</sup> the council of state, before whom <sup>d</sup> some, having relation to them, brought this business, hoping they would have borne the charge out of the public, have lately given their approbation and recommendation of the work, with hopes of advancing 1000*l.* to begin the work; which if they do,” he adds, “I hope to get the rest advanced by private hands, who will take satisfaction in copies.” Dr. Twells questions that the council of state advanced the sum mentioned, or even part of it; because he finds no more mention of it in Dr. Walton’s Letters, and chiefly because not the least notice is taken by him, in the preface to his Bible, of this pecuniary gift: while of the exemption from duty to all the paper, which was imported for the use of his publication, he has not withheld in that preface, his acknowledgment; *quorum favore*

<sup>b</sup> See his obligations to Dr. Pocock stated in his Considerator considered, chap. ix. §. 2, et seq. accompanying these Memoirs, p. 179, et seq.

<sup>c</sup> Twells, ut *suprà*.

<sup>d</sup> I should suppose Selden and his friends to be the persons here intended.

*chartam à vectigalibus immunem habuimus*; a service to religion and learning, which has been pronounced as the \* act of Cromwell, by whom also a similar privilege was conceded to the editors of the *Critici Sacri*.

In May, 1653, the subscriptions to the work afforded the greatest encouragement. Mr. Thomas Greaves, in a letter to Pocock, dated the 4th of that month, relates, that “<sup>f</sup> Dr. Walton had assured him, that 9000*l.* had then been promised, and that much more was likely to be added; and that he hoped, within three months, to begin the printing thereof.”

In this month also, Arnold Bootius, or Boate, a Dutch critic, now remembered rather for his correspondence with the prelate, than for the justness of his criticisms, replied to Archbishop Usher's letter, which had “<sup>s</sup> enclosed a specimen of the *Biblia Polyglotta*,” in the following terms. “<sup>h</sup> I am of opinion, that this design is not of so high a concernment for the advancement of true religion, as the authors thereof do persuade themselves; and yet I think very well of it, and hold it to be of great use *pro omnibus literarum*

\* Twells, ut *suprà*.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> Parr's *Letters of Archbishop Usher*, &c. p. 588.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid.

*studiosis*, if it be done as it should be; which I fear it will not be, and that many ways. For whereas the main care of the undertakers should be to give us a most correct edition, as that of the *Biblia Regia*, I find abundance of faults in all the text of this first sheet; *quòd si cætera sint ad eundem modum*, the whole book will be good for nothing else but to be thrown into the fire and burnt." That there are many errors in this specimen-sheet, is admitted; and the copy of it, which I have seen, contains a notification to the learned, written at the bottom of it by Dr. Walton himself, (as I believe,) capable of softening a critic, made even of sterner stuff than Dr. Boate: <sup>1</sup> *Typos Hebr. et Syr. cum punctis meliores parabimus: Errata quædam corrigenda, &c.* Dr. Boate proceeds with other objections, and seems particularly hurt at Dr. Walton and his friends "<sup>2</sup> making so great an account of *Critica Cappelli*;" a work which he himself had assailed; forgetful, however, of the punishment inflicted on him for his rashness, in an Epistle addressed by Cappellus to Archbishop Usher. If the object of Dr. Boate was to withdraw the countenance of Usher from Dr. Walton, it was in vain. For of the prelate's kind attention to Dr. Walton,

<sup>1</sup> Copy belonging to the Library of Sidney College, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Parr's Letter of Archbishop Usher, &c. p. 589.

and his work, the assurance is obvious in the following letter :

“<sup>1</sup> May it please your Grace,

“ I made account to have waited upon your Grace, before you went out of town, but was prevented by your early departure from Lincolns-Inn, where I was about an hour after you were gone. I have been with my <sup>a</sup> *Lord of Ardagh*,

<sup>1</sup> Parr's Letter of Archbishop Usher, &c. p. 590.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. John Richardson, Bishop of Ardagh, in Ireland. No further mention is made of this learned prelate, in regard to Dr. Walton's Polyglot Bible. Indeed, he died soon after this letter was written, in 1654. He was one of the friends of Archbishop Usher, who addressed to him the following letter upon his work mentioned in the next note.

“ To my reverend and learned brother, Dr. Richardson, Bishop of Ardagh, in Ireland.

“ Right reverend and worthy brother,

“ You know that out of that intimacy, which has ever been betwixt us from our youths, I cannot be unacquainted with the course of your studies. And you being now entered upon the last scene of your life, as well as I, there-upon I would willingly become a persuader of you not to let your labours be lost, and die with you; but to publish some or most of them, to the view of the world, for the benefit of the Church. The last thing I viewed of yours, were your Annotations upon Genesis; having before perused your other Explanations and Observations upon the Old Testament. Though slight, and suddenly done, as you say ;



and have left with him the copy of the LXX, which he is to follow. I perceive he will be engaged in a work of his own for this half-year: yet I hope he will not neglect this, but take some care of it himself, because we cannot rely upon Mr. *Huish*. I would gladly know whether Mr.

yet think them not unworthy of the press. For I find therein divers things of moment, which I meet not withal in others. And to prevail with you herein, let this find some place: that is the judgment and desire of,

“Your endeared friend and brother,

“*James Armagh*.”

He returned an answer, which with the preceding letter, and another from the learned Gataker, in commendation of Dr. Richardson, may be seen at the beginning of the work mentioned in the next note.

“Afterwards published, and entitled, “*Choice Observations and Explanations upon the Old Testament: containing in them many remarkable matters, either not taken notice of, or mistaken by most, which are additional to the large Annotations made by some of the Assembly of Divines. To which are added some further and larger Observations of his upon the whole Book of Genesis: perused and attested by the Reverend Bishop of Armagh, and Mr. Gataker, pastor of Rederith. By the learned and industrious John Richardson, Bishop of Ardagh, one who had a considerable hand in the forenamed large Annotations, London, 1655.*” It is a posthumous publication. The first draught of these Observations, it is said, in an Epistle to the Reader, was ready for the press before 1651.

*Young's* executor will let us have his \* notes, or upon what terms : they will be of very great use, if they may be had. If your Grace please to give me order to write, or call, to Mr. <sup>p</sup> *Atwood*, about them, and to make use of your name, I will see what may be done. If your Syriac Copy be come out of France, Mr. *Thorndike* would gladly have it to collate, both with the Paris and your other manuscript ; for all may be done with the same labour. If yours cannot be had as yet, I will borrow some part of Mr. Pocock's till the other come over. Mr. *Wheelock* hath sent me a specimen of what he hath done about the Samaritan Version ; where it differs from the Hebrew Samaritan, I have sent your Grace a copy of it. Dr. *Lightfoot*, as I hear from a friend, is willing, if it be desired, to undertake the same task, or part of it : and because of Mr. *Wheelock's* infirm body, I would gladly have some subsidiary help. He accounts it a thing easy,

\* Some of the notes of the learned Patrick Young are found in the sixth volume of the Polyglot. " After his death," Wood says, " all or most of his Greek and Latin MSS. collected, and written with his own hand, came into the possession of Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon." *Fasti Ox.* Vol. i. col. 794, edit. 1691.

<sup>p</sup> The son-in-law of the learned Patrick Young. See Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher, &c. p. 517.

(the Samaritan being a dialect of the Chaldee,) and I would gladly have something done in it; both to satisfy the desires and expectations of many that write about it, as also that we may have something more than is in the Paris Bibles, if your Grace thinks fit. Mr. *Wheelock* propounds another thing concerning the whole work, which I look upon as a thing hardly practicable, or which will at least require a great deal of time; viz. to have all the homogeneal languages together, and one Latin Translation of them all, as the Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, and our Latin Translation for all. So the Roman LXX, with the Complutense, and that of Tecla's, and our Latin Translation, &c. This I look upon as a fancy; yet I promised to acquaint your Grace and others with it, and to desire your opinions. I hope we shall shortly begin the work; yet I doubt the founders will make us stay a week longer than we expected. As soon as the first sheet is printed, I shall make bold to send one to your Grace. In the mean time, with my prayers for your Grace's health and happiness, I take leave, and rest,

" Your Grace's

" Most humble servant,

" BRIAN WALTON.

" *From Dr. Fuller's, in St. Giles-Cripple-gate Churchyard, July 18, 1653.* We have re-

solved to have a better paper than that of 11s. a ream, viz. of 15s. a ream."

Dr. Lightfoot, who is mentioned in the preceding letter, is said to have been consulted about the whole work by Dr. Walton, at his entrance upon it, in a letter, dated January 2, 1653; in which the assistance also of Dr. Lightfoot as to the Samaritan Pentateuch, upon which he had bestowed much pains, was solicited. Nor was this the first application which had been made to him; for we are told, that the letter adverted to Dr. Lightfoot's having modestly declined the employment upon the ground of inability, and that it urged the sufficiency of his power in the testimony which he had already given to the world. "I find," the biographer of Dr. Lightfoot adds, "that Dr. Walton, as appears by his letters, bearing date, February 23, 1653, April 24, 1654, June 14, 1654, and several others, sent our author the several alphabets of sheets as they came off from the press, and desired him to peruse them as he had done, and note the mistakes he should meet withal: in one of which he tells him, that as to the Samaritan his diligence and judgment had been so exact, that there would be little

<sup>1</sup> Life of Dr. Lightfoot, written by Strype, prefixed to the edition of Lightfoot's Works, 1684, pp. vi, vii.

cause to alter, much less to censure and correct. I find also that our author assisted in that work several other ways, not only by procuring subscriptions towards its encouragement, but by furnishing him with several MSS. out of the University library, viz. a Syriac MS. of the Prophets; and a Syriac Lexicon, a MS.; and with certain notes out of the Jerusalem Talmud. Besides this, our author sent him his Chorographical Observations, which we find prefixed to the Polyglot Bible, under his name."

It was the latter end of September, if not the beginning of October, in 1653, before the impression of the first volume was begun; when some discouragement to the progress of the work was apprehended, by the death of Mr. Wheelock. His place, however, was soon supplied by Mr. Hyde; and by the 30th of October the first sheet of the Pentateuch was sent back to Dr. Walton by the learned Pocock, with his own various readings upon it. Archbishop Usher, also, had transmitted, on the 27th of that month, the first sheet to Cappellus, at Saumur.

\* Twells, ut suprà, §. 3.

\* Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher, &c. p. 596. "Cudantur tamèn apud nos Biblia Polyglotta, &c. In his Alexandrini illius Codicis cum Editione Græca Vaticana collatio instituitur, et textus quem desideras Samariticus

In the next year, the first volume was completed and delivered to the subscribers and purchasers, with the following notification, dated September 4.

*“ An Advertisement to the Subscribers and others, unto whom any Copies of the first volume of the Bible shall be delivered.*

“ Though for their security, and private use, they may have their copies in their own possession till all be finished ; yet they are to take notice, that the prefaces, and some other things, which belong to the first volume, cannot be printed till the whole work be done : because, in the prefaces referring to the whole, account must be given of all things which occur in the several volumes ; and an honourable mention is to be made of such noble persons and others, as by their free gift, or otherwise, have been eminent promoters of the work ; which cannot conveniently be done till the conclusion of all : and, therefore, they are not to bind up their copies, or disperse them, but to keep them entire in their

*simul adjungitur : quemadmodum in primis hinc magni operis paginis ( quas ad te mittere libuit ) videre licet. Tu ista quæso boni consule,” &c.*

‘ From an original paper, found by Dr. Clarke in one of the first volumes of the Polyglot. See his *Bibliograph. Dict.* Vol. i. pp. 260, 261.

own hands, that they may have all perfect at the last ; though for their private use, and to prevent the danger of losing any sheets if they be loose, they may have them sewed together with paste-board covers at a little charge. In the mean time for the help of such, as are ignorant of the tongues, there will be published within a few days a *small Manual, containing an Introduction to the reading of them, together with Alphabets of them all, as also of the Coptic and Armenian ; and Directions what Grammars and Lexicons to procure, and what method is to be used for attaining the further knowledge of them ; together with a general Discourse upon Copies and MSS. followed, and what may be expected in this Edition more than in the former : which is to be sold by Timothy Garthwaite, at the lesser north door of St. Paul's Church.* What care and diligence hath been used to prevent typographical errors, though some such have passed in the most accurate impressions, will appear to any judicious and indifferent person that shall compare this with former Editions, and with books published in the same languages by others. The cavils of idle and envious persons we regard not ; yet let none reckon the transpositions of chapters and verses in some Versions as errors, though they differ from the Hebrew, as Exodus xxxvi, xxxvii,

xxxviii. &c. in the Greek, and Exodus xxx. in the Samaritan, &c. which rather shew the Copies to be ancient and genuine. As God hath enabled us to go through with this first volume, notwithstanding the false reports, jealousies, and aspersions of some, and the unworthy dealing of others, who, after they had engaged us in the work by their promises and subscriptions, have performed nothing; so we hope, by the same assistance, to go on with the rest, and to finish them severally in far less time, to His honour, and the public good."

The Manual, mentioned in the preceding advertisement, was published in 1654, with the date of October 1. It was " republished in 1655 with improvements; and in 1658, at Deventer<sup>z</sup>, without

<sup>u</sup> *Introductio ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium, Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Samaritanæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Persicæ, Æthiopicæ, Armenæ, Coptæ; concilium de earum studio feliciter instituendo, et de libris quos in hunc finem sibi comparare debent studiosi. In usum tyronum qui linguas istas addiscere desiderant, præcipuè eorum qui sumptus ad Biblia Polyglotta (jam sub prelo) imprimenda contulerunt. Præmittitur præfatio, in qua de hisce linguis, et de textuum et versionum quæ in dictis Bibliis habentur antiquitate, auctoritate, et usu, breviter disseritur, quidque in hac Editione præ reliquis expectandum sit. Per Brianum Walton, S. T. D. Lond. Impr. T. Roycroft. 1655.*

<sup>z</sup> *Briani Walton, S. T. D. Dissertatio, in qua de linguis Orientalibus, &c. et de textuum et versionum quæ in Com-*



them. That of 1655 contains the different alphabets, with directions how to read them, but not grammars; and has representations of Hebrew and Samaritan coins. Short as his didactic examples are, they are still of great utility, as Dr. Clarke has observed, to a learner.

As to the false reports, and jealousies, and aspersions, at which Dr. Walton glances in the advertisement; they can be ascribed only to those, who, having succeeded in excluding the loyal and learned clergy from promoting the glory of God as churchmen, would have impeded, if it might be, their efforts to that effect as scholars. They were the aspersions and jealousies of disappointed though triumphant ignorance; of the ignorance which reported, and vainly hoped to be believed, that “<sup>1</sup> many tongues and languages were only confusion;” and that “<sup>2</sup> to be book-learned, and to be irreligious, were almost terms convertible.” The opposition was ineffectual. In 1655, the second volume of the work was finished; in 1656, the third; and, about the close of the year 1657, the remainder. Two

*plutensibus, Regiis, Parisiensibus, et Anglicanis Polyglottis Bibliis habentur, antiquitate, &c. Daventriæ, Typ. J. Colombii, 1658.*

<sup>1</sup> Letter to London from a Spy at Oxford, 1643, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> South's Sermons, Vol. 3. p. 445, edit. 1737.

presses, we are informed<sup>a</sup>, were engaged for the work. “<sup>b</sup> And thus, in about four years, was finished the English Polyglot Bible, the glory of that age, and of the English Church and Nation ; a work vastly exceeding all former attempts of that kind, and that came so near perfection, as to<sup>c</sup> discourage all future ones. One

<sup>a</sup> See the Proposals, already cited, p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> Twells, ut suprà.

<sup>c</sup> Nicholas Ferrar, of pious and learned memory, had intended more than one impression of a Polyglot New Testament ; of which the last mentioned, in the present note, is said by his father to have been withheld, by reason of the preparations for the London Polyglot Bible. These circumstances are detailed in a Manuscript in the Lambeth Library, No. 251, fol. 32, et seq. written by Mr. Ferrar's father, about the year 1653 ; and are printed at large in the valuable Ecclesiastical Biography of the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, Vol. 5. p. 204, et seq. The first was to have been an impression of the Gospel in eight languages, all interpreted with Latin or English, word for word, interlinearly placed, and at one view to be seen and read. A second of the Gospels, in twenty-four languages, with an interlinear Latin interpretation. A third, of St. John's Gospel, in twenty-two languages, with the like interpretation. Among his papers were also found designs of giving the New Testament in fifty languages, which were enumerated ; and also in twenty-six languages, with some critical additions. The last intention is stated to have been first hindered by the sad times coming on, namely, the great Rebellion : “ *And now,*” the Manuscript adds, “ *it hath so fallen out,*

would therefore think, that, at home at least, it should have been well entertained by all that had any regard for religion and learning ; and yet, no sooner was it published, than some principal men among the prevailing party were very much offended at it ; fearing, perhaps, the indignation of foreigners against them for having, with little merit, and against all law and title, taken the places of such prodigies for learning and industry, as Dr. Walton, Mr. Pocock, Mr. Thorndike, &c. Amongst these was Dr. <sup>d</sup> Owen, who, the next year,

*to the honour of those worthy learned men that have by their great care and labour set it on foot, the printing of the Holy Bible in eight several languages is designed here in England; the which work in many respects is like to pass that Bible both of the king of Spain's, and the king of France's: in which regard it is now thought fitting to defer this model, and intended work, till that our Bible be finished."* Of abridgments and enlargements, corrections and alterations, of Dr. Walton's imperishable work, which have been subsequently proposed, I shall give an account in an Appendix to this volume.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. John Owen, however he has failed in his inconsiderate attack upon Dr. Walton, was certainly a man of considerable learning. Wood calls him and Goodwin " the two Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency," in the University of Oxford. But though a rigid Calvinist, he is said to have been of very tolerant principles. His sermons, however, occasionally exhibit great art in paying homage to the sovereignty of the people, and in withdrawing it from the lawful king ; in arguing also upon doctrinal as well as politi-

together with a Latin Tract against the Quakers, I know not by what rules of congruity, was pleased to publish one in English against the Polyglot Bible. Many things injurious to the Reformation, and even to Christianity itself, he pretended to discover in it, especially in the Prolegomena and Appendix; and, accordingly, made no small outcry against it. But how far envy engaged him to meddle with things above his knowledge; how frequently he contradicted himself; and really fell into those crimes, which he only fancied others to be guilty of; and particularly, how he misrepresented and misapplied some things asserted by Mr. Pocock in his preface to the Arabic Various Readings; was, in a short time, unanswerably shewn by Dr. Walton, in a discourse he published for that purpose." This Vindication illustrates the history of the Polyglot in so many curious respects, and exhibits so happy a

cal notions, maintained by Calvin, which, let us hope, will never more "turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction;" the misery which our forefathers witnessed in the time of Owen. See "the Rebels' Catechism, composed in an easy and familiar way, [by Dr. Peter Heylin,] to let them see the heinousness of their offence, &c. 4to. Printed 1643." Where the 17th question is, p. 12, "Is it not lawful to bear arms against sovereign princes *for the preservation of religion?*" And the answer is, "Yes, for those men *who place religion in rebellion, and whose faith is faction*; but for no man else."

combination of acute and solid reasoning, that the reader will not be displeased to find it accompanying these memoirs of Dr. Walton's life. Till now, it has not been reprinted. Yet his Introduction to the Knowledge of the Eastern Tongues has been at least \* thrice published ; and his Prolegomena to the Polyglot have been already † twice detached from the great work for the benefit of the public, and are expected soon to issue, in the same manner, from the press of the University of Cambridge.

The London Polyglot, soon after its publication also, did not escape the \* papal interdict at Rome ; not, perhaps, with the entire consent of Alexander the Seventh, who was certainly an eminent scholar, and was considered as particularly favourable to Protestants.

\* See before, p. 70.

† B. Waltoni, Angli, Viri Celeberrimi, Biblicus Apparatus, Chronologico-Topographico-Philologicus, prout ille tomo præliminari Operis eximii Polyglotti continetur, &c. Adjiciuntur Johannis Drusii de Proverbiis Sacris Classes duæ. fol. Tigur. 1673. The editor, John Henry Heidegger, has prefixed a learned Preface.

B. Waltoni in Biblia Polyglotta Prolegomena. Præfatus est D. Jo. Aug. Dathe, Prof. Linguae. Heb. Ord. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1777. The Preface of Dathe is of considerable length, and of the highest critical importance.

\* Ind. Libb. Prohibit. Alexand. VII. Pontif. Max. jussu edit. Biblia *Briani Waltoni*, Angli, cui titulus, &c.

It has been <sup>a</sup> observed, that <sup>1</sup> *nine* languages are used in Dr. Walton's Bible ; but that, in so many, not a single book of the Bible is printed. In the New Testament the four Evangelists are in *six* languages ; the other books only in *five* ; and those of Judith and the Maccabees only in *three*.

<sup>a</sup> Bowyer on the first printed Polyglots, Origin of Printing, Appendix, p. 182.

<sup>1</sup> The title of the work enumerates them. See also the description, p. 37. It may be proper to copy here the whole title.

Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum ; Versionumque antiquarum Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII Interpr. Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulg. Lat. Quicquid comparari poterat. Cum Textuum et Versionum Orientalium Translationibus Latinis. Ex vetustissimis MSS. undique conquisitis, optimisque Exemplaribus impressis, summa fide collatis. Quæ in prioribus Editionibus deerant suppleta. Multa antehac inedita, de novo adjecta. Omnia eo ordine disposita, ut Textus cum Versionibus uno intuitu conferri possint.

Cum Apparatu, Appendicibus, Tabulis, Variis Lectionibus, Annotationibus, Indicibus, &c.

Opus totum in sex tomos distributum.

Edidit BRIANUS WALTON, S. T. D.

Rationes quibus opus hoc susceptum, quorum auspiciis et munificentia promotum, quorum collatis studiis et laboribus perfectum, quidque in hac Editione præ reliquis præstitum, *sequens Præfatio indicabit*. Londini, imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1657.

The *first* volume exhibits the texts of the Pentateuch, according to the description <sup>k</sup> already given, except that it omits the Persic Translation, which, as it is a very literal Version, might have retained its situation, with the Targum of Onkelos, instead of being transferred into the *fourth* volume. Arnold Bootius, in a letter to Archbishop Usher, objected to the admission of it at all. “<sup>l</sup>I think it very superfluous to give us the Persian Pentateuch, &c.” But the better opinions of Lewis de Dreu, and of <sup>m</sup>Thomas Greaves, one of the assistants in the Polyglot, silenced the objection; and the latter has written some very curious remarks upon this Version, which are found in Dr. Walton’s *sixth* volume. To the Pentateuch are prefixed Treatises on Weights and Measures, Geographical Charts, Chronological Tables, and the Prolegomena, an inexhaustible fund of Oriental literature. The Hebrew text, it may here be observed, is printed throughout masoretically.

The *second* volume contains, in the same language, with the exception of the Samaritan, all the historical books from Joshua to Esther.

The *third* volume gives the books from Job

<sup>k</sup> See before, p. 37, et seq.

<sup>l</sup> Parr’s Usher’s Lett. &c. p. 588.

<sup>m</sup> See the account of him, in this volume, Chap. V.

ings in their collections as they found them in the Polyglot. Now, as errors of the press are una-

him blood; which seemed for the present to have relieved him; for at my coming into his room he was very sensible, knew me, and expressed no small satisfaction at my coming to him so opportunely. However, we could not prevail to have a physician sent for that night; yet we got the apothecary to lay a large blister to his back; all which the physicians, Drs. Breach and Frampton, highly approved of, when they came to him yesterday morning, and ordered him to be blooded again and blistered from head to foot. We were in some hopes that by the blessing of God he might have found some benefit by them; but it has been such a sudden and irresistible fit of apoplexy, that he found not the least relief by all the means that have been used: he continued all yesterday and the last night, when I watched with him, in a profound lethargie, and died this morning about a quarter after seven o'clock, to the very great loss of all his friends and that of the learned world. And yet I believe no one is more sensible of the greatness of this loss than yourself and I are, who were particularly happy in so great a share of his friendship. I doubt whether he has left any will, by something he said to me in his illness. But I shall know more of this when I have looked over his papers. Mr. Vice Principal, who gives you his service, will write to you tomorrow, and perhaps by that time he may be able to inform you more of that matter. The inclosed letter was brought me last night by Mr. Principal's bedmaker, who, knowing your hand, desired me to open it. Thinking it might require an answer, I accordingly did so; and no person besides myself has seen it. And therefore I thought it proper to return it you again.

" This of our dear friend's has been such a sudden and



voidable, especially in a work like Wetstein's, it is necessary to have recourse to the Polyglot whenever a doubt arises in regard to the accuracy of a quotation by Mill or Wetstein, in order to see whether these Manuscripts, which were collated for the London Polyglot, have the readings in question, or not. Several other critics have borrowed from the readings of the London Polyglot. Bengel selected whatever appeared to him important; and Saubert has inserted, in his *Variae Lectiones*, all the readings of the Gospel of St. Matthew."

It has been <sup>1</sup>said, that Dr. Walton thought himself bound in gratitude to dedicate his Polyglot to Cromwell; and <sup>2</sup>some have supposed, that this republican dedication, as it has been called, was actually made. I will rectify these matters in Dr. Walton's own words; which contain in-

irresistible stroke, that I heartily pray God deliver us from the like, or at least fitt and prepare us so that we may not be surprized, if it should please God to make our end like his.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your most obliged, and

"Affectionate humble servant,

"W. Worth."

<sup>1</sup> Dibdin's Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics, 2d edit. vol I. p. 15. See also Bowyer, Dr. Clarke, and others, who have written upon the Polyglot.

<sup>2</sup> Dibdin, p. 16. But the word *dedication* may there perhaps be intended for *preface*.

formation, hitherto, I believe, unnoticed, and certainly of a very interesting description.

It appears in the dedication of the Polyglot to King Charles the Second, of which the existence has been by some <sup>1</sup> denied, that Dr. Walton had sent a specimen of the work to the exiled monarch, before he had entered upon it; and had received an answer, worthy of a king to give; namely, *'that if means had not been wanting in his exile, he would have supplied the costs of such a work.* Dr. Walton proceeds to inform his Majesty of the resolution he had formed, after he was deprived of his preferments, and not

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Clarke's Bibliograph. Dictionary, vol. I. p. 259. The authors of the Biblioteca Portatile, whom Dr. Clarke is there pleased to ridicule for what he calls their grave information, are perfectly correct in stating *the dedication to Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, to consist of four pages.* The dedication has been pronounced by others extremely rare. Yet I have seen copies of the Polyglot, without solicitously seeking for them, to which it is prefixed. I will give the whole dedication, which is of considerable length, in the Appendix to this volume.

<sup>2</sup> "Nam antequam operi manus admovissem, cum specimen ejus quoddam per manus fidelissimi servi vestri, D. Georgii Ratcliffii *re manuscriptu* obtulissem, ut accurata judicii vestri lance penderetur; non solum institutum nostro oraculo vivæ vocis probasti, sed insuper responsum Rege dignum dedisti; scil. *si facultates in tristi illo exilii statu non defuissent, sumptus ad editionem necessarios ex arario proprio te suppeditaturum.*" Dedic. p. 1.

allowed to officiate publicly as a clergyman; lest, as he modestly expresses himself, "*he should seem to have lived wholly useless*. He then says, that at the very beginning of the work he "intended to dedicate it to his Majesty; that many could attest this; that during the usurpation the intention could only be concealed; and that the usurper of royalty was not fairly entitled to a dedication of it. For Cromwell, whom he emphatically calls *the great dragon*, seems to have considered the Polyglot, at its outset, as affording an opportunity of exhibiting himself as a great literary patron; and, perhaps, he communicated to Dr. Walton the desire of having the

"*Æquum videbatur hac laborum nostrorum dedicatione rationem reddere temporis ac oculi quibus invitatus fruebar, ne prorsus inutilis visisse videar.*" Dedic. p. 2.

"*Cur verò aris tuis tabulam hanc votivam citiùs non appenderim, (quod ab ipso suscepti operis initio decretum fuisse multi mecum testari possunt,) nimis notum est, per infausta hæc tempora, omne erga Regiam Majestatem officium pro læsæ majestatis crimine haberetur; ita ut nec quæ Dei sunt Deo reddere, nec quæ Cæsaris Cæsari, cuiquam impare licuerit; unde qui sceptrâ tua prophanarunt, iidem, ut factus noster sine patrono adhuc vagaretur, effecerunt. In-sidiabatur enim partui nostro Draco ille magnus, et per tyrannidis suæ mancipia hoc agebat, ut in ipso partu opprimeretur, nisi ipsi ut patrono et protectori dicaretur: Deus verò ab ejus furore illum servavit, et nunc gratanter verum parentem lustricum palam profiteri audet, cujus patrocinio fretus, omnes adversantium minas contemnit.*" Dedic. p. 2.

work therefore inscribed to him, which the learned Editor, if he did not absolutely refuse, hesitated to promise. Perhaps the coldness of Dr. Walton, upon this occasion, was the reason why neither the once expected thousand pounds, nor any part of it, in aid of the work, are <sup>2</sup> believed to have been advanced by the influence, or from the purse, of Cromwell. However, through the dependants of the Usurper, it is evident that Dr. Walton understood a suppression of his work, <sup>3</sup> *unless it should be dedicated to Cromwell!* For a deliverance from the implication, as well as from any fury of the Usurper, Dr. Walton is therefore truly grateful. It is probable, that this tribute of welcome was sent to the King in 1659; about which time, also, we may suppose the two last leaves of the original Preface to the Polyglot to have been cancelled, and three others substituted in their place. The former mentioned Cromwell thus: *Primò autem commemorandi, quorum favore chartam à vectigalibus immunitatem habuimus, quod quinque abhinc annis (1652) à Concilio secretiori primò concessum, postea à SERENISSIMO D. PROTECTORE ejusque Concilio, operis promovendi causa, benignè confirmatum et continuatum erat.* In the latter, there was

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> See the last note but one.

merely the mention of acknowledgment for the favour of having his paper duty-free, omitting the Protector's name, and including him and his Council under the simple description of *eos, quorum favore chartam à vectigalibus immunem habuimus*. It would have certainly been in conformity to the liberal notions, encouraged by the republic of letters, not to have disjoined a benefactor and the benefaction. But Dr. Walton had been working under a government which allowed him indeed *his paper free from duty*, but had deprived him of all his preferments; the head of which had also ungenerously aimed to *extort* a dedication from him.

There are other differences, principally verbal, distinguishing the cancelled parts of the Preface, which <sup>a</sup> De Missy first communicated to Bowyer, and to which <sup>a</sup> Dr. Clarke has made additions, with the curious intelligence also, that he had collated *three* copies; a republican one, and two loyal ones; and had found them all different; from which it would appear, that there were three editions at least of the last leaves of the Preface.

There is another curious circumstance not to be overpassed, of <sup>b</sup> subsequent alteration in the

<sup>a</sup> Bowyer's Origin of Printing, Apppendix, pp. 129—142.

<sup>a</sup> Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. I. p. 257.

<sup>b</sup> Discovered by C. Butler, Esq. On the London Polyglot, Dibdin's Introduction, ut supr. p. 19,

preliminary critical apparatus of the Polyglot ; I mean, in the treatise, following that upon weights and measures, entitled *Idiotismi Linguae Hebraicae et Graecae* ; of which the author is anonymous. Over the fourth and fifth answers to questions, which the author proposes, are pasted such as became a protestant and scholar, like Dr. Walton, to admit, in the place of those, which without his previous knowledge, we cannot but conclude, had expressed the language of a Roman Catholic. Without this pasted alteration few copies of the London Polyglot are said to exist.

It was once ungenerously <sup>c</sup> supposed, that this Polyglot was printed from sheets surreptitiously obtained from the press at Paris, which produced the Polyglot of Le Jay within the period of 1626 and 1645. The date of the London Polyglot at once confutes this slander. The proposals of Dr. Walton for a cheaper and better Edition in 1652, might, certainly, even at that distance of time, hinder the sale of it. But there were <sup>d</sup> other causes. The enormous size of the book rendered it inconvenient for use ; and the price deterred purchasers ; the refusal also of Le Jay to publish it under Richelieu's name, though that minister had offered to print it at his own expence, damped the sale of it.

<sup>c</sup> Bowyer, ut supr. p. 132.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 134.

The London Polyglot has been considered as the 'first book printed by subscription in England. The 'Dictionary of Minsheu, in eleven languages, (1617,) may, perhaps, more properly be called the earliest, though not strictly within the modern idea of a subscription; yet in effect the same thing; as Minshew printed the names of all those who took a copy of his work, and continually added such as purchased it. This most valuable lexicographer has thus told his own and yet interesting tale. " \* By compiling and printing this Dictionary," (it is stated at the head of his *subscribers*, consisting of the king, queen, prince, many of the nobility, prelates, and other distinguished persons,) " at his own charge, for the public good and advancement of learning and knowledge, he has not only exhausted and spent thereon all his stock and substance, but also run himself into many and great debts, impossible for him ever to pay, *without the like assistance of the receivers of his book from his hands.* In regard of the company of stationers utterly refusing to buy them of him, he is forced to tender them himself *to such like worthy persons, as are*

\* Granger's Biographical History, article *Walton*; and Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. 4. p. 8.

† Nichols, ut *supr.*

‡ On the original leaf, in a copy of his Dictionary in my possession.

*here in this catalogue truly set down*—that they may be pleased, upon the sight and readings of so many names of nobleness and worth, to follow their example, in their favour to good letters, to help to take off the rest of his books. In doing whereof, *their names are likewise to be inserted in this catalogue with the former.*” Dr. Walton was more successful; or, to use the words of Dr. Worthington, “<sup>h</sup> was more active, and had many active friends;” and among such, <sup>i</sup> his own University as a host.

<sup>h</sup> Worthington’s Letters to Hartlib, Epistle 16, (dated Sept. 9, 1661,) p. 280.

<sup>i</sup> See the Evidence of Dr. Webb, Master of Clare-Hall, Cambridge, on the Copy-Right Acts, p. 91. “They contributed, in the University library, to Walton’s Polyglot. The expence, attending the publication of that, to the University, was very considerable.”



### CHAPTER III.

*Projected revision of the English Version of the Bible, towards the close of the Polyglot: Dr. Walton invited as an assistant in it: His judgment of the authorized Translation: Review of the qualifications of the Translators; and of the successful cultivation, in this Country, of Oriental learning, preceding and during the time of Dr. Walton.*

In 1652 the <sup>k</sup> Parliament had made an order, that a bill should be brought in for a new English Translation of the Bible out of the Original Tongues. If it was intended as a kind of counterbalance, on the part of the republican theologists, to the proposals of Dr. Walton, issued in that year; the world only heard of this note of preparation for a Version, but beheld henceforward the majestic march of the Polyglot.

Whatever reflections might then be cast upon the authorized Translation by Englishmen, it is a fact little known, that a <sup>l</sup> French ecclesiastic

<sup>k</sup> Proceedings in Parliament, &c. printed for Robert Ib-  
betson, 1652, No. 172. Lewis's History of the English  
Translations of the Bible, 2d edit. p. 354.

<sup>l</sup> Jean D'Espagne, minister of a French congregation,  
which assembled at Durham-House in the Strand, and after-  
wards at the chapel in Somerset-House; author of several

courted the notice of Cromwell with an attempt to depreciate it. But his criticisms were too puny to scare a friend, or gratify an enemy, of the received Version. In short, till the completion of the Polyglot, the project of a new translation, or of revision, slumbered. Then indeed, an order was made, "at the Grand Committee for Religion," which Whitlock has recorded, (noting, on the same day, that Dr. Walton "published the Polyglot,) in the following words.

"Jan. 16, 1656, [that is, 1656-7.] Ordered, that it be referred to a Sub-Committee to send for, and advise with, Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, \* Mr. Castle, [Castell,] Mr. Clark, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they shall think fit, and to consider of the Translations and Impressions

books in French, some of which have been translated into English. The book, to which reference is now made, is very uncommon; and bears the title of "*Shibboleth, ou Reformation de quelques passages és Versions Françoisse et Angloise de la Bible,*" &c. 12mo. It is dedicated "à son Excellence Messire Olivier Cromwell, General des Armées de la Republique d'Angleterre."

\* Whitlock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 654.

\* Whitlock must have meant, I suppose, by the following note, so much only as then was published; not quite the whole work. "January 16, Dr. Walton published the Polyglot Bible."

° Afterwards Dr. Castell, who, with Mr. Clarke, assisted Dr. Walton in the Polyglot.

of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to this Committee; and that it be especially commended to the Lord Commissioner Whitlock to take care of this business. This Committee often met at my house, and had the most learned men in the Oriental tongues to consult with in this great business, and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the Translations of the Bible in English; *which yet was agreed to be the best of any Translation in the world.*"

Such is the narrative of Whitlock, who himself took pains in the design; which became fruitless, he added, by the dissolution of the Parliament. Johnson, in his Historical Account of the English Translations, relates, that the Committee and their learned associates "*pretended to discover some mistakes in the last English Translation, which yet they allowed was the best extant.*"

However, about that time, Dr. Walton certainly placed, in the <sup>1</sup> Prolegomena to his Polyglot, our own in the highest rank of European Translations. And it is evident that, in the conferences mentioned, he was convinced of no mistake in the Translation sufficient to alter his opinion of its

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Acc. p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Proleg. v. §. 5.

excellence ; for he afterwards delivered the following judgment of its remarkable fidelity.

“ The last English Translation, made by divers learned men at the command of King James, though it may justly contend with any now extant in any other language in Europe, was yet carped and cavilled at by divers among ourselves ; especially by \* one, who being passed by, and not employed in the work, as one, though skilled in the Hebrew, yet of little or no judgment in that or any kind of learning, was so highly offended that he would needs undertake to shew *how many thousand places they had falsely rendered, when as he could hardly make good his undertaking in any one !*”

This judgment was delivered at a time, when † *the nation*, Dr. Walton himself has told us, *had more men of eminent skill in languages than ever heretofore*. Such certainly were himself, Castell, Clarke, and Cudworth, whom we find to have been consulted upon the biblical project of 1657, and whose testimony to the merit of the received Version we have read. And their con-

\* Considerator considered, 1659. Chapter i. §. 3.

† Hugh Broughton, a man of great learning, but greater vanity.

‡ Considerator considered, Chapter ii. §. 10.

temporary Pocock, the prince, as it were, of Oriental learning, has thus subscribed to their decision: "That Translation of our own, which we follow, is such and so agreeable to the Original, as that we might well choose among others to follow it, were it not our own, and established by authority among us."

Some objections against the authorized Translation, some trifling errors in it dilated into fancied importance, were, indeed, about this time

\* Preface to his Commentary on Micah.

\* In 1658, an old objection or two of the Puritans, with a few idle additions, were reproduced and levelled against the English Versions, in a very licentious pamphlet treating of the Torments of Hell. In 1659 Dr. Gell published an Essay towards the amendment of the received Translation, in a large folio, containing what he calls "a skeleton of mere criticisms, clothed with moral explications, and applications, needful to the use of edifying." He had glanced indeed at the authorized Translators, in 1650, when he published a Sermon, "preached before the learned Societie of Astrologers," upon Deuteronomy xxxii. 8; where he follows the reading of the Septuagint, "*according to the number of the angels of God*," in opposition to our Version, "*according to the number of the children of Israel*," (conformably to the Original, the Samaritan text, the Syriac and Arabic Versions, the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Latin Vulgate, and the best critics,) with this remark: "I could speak as much for the credit and honour of the Septuagint, as some learned men [the Translators in their Preface] have done in disparagement of it, &c. I am now to vindicate

published. But neither Dr. Walton, nor any of his learned compeers, considered them deserving of the least notice. It was sufficient for them to have expressed their own confidence, and so to encourage the confidence of others, in a Version which had been made by men eminently qualified for the task, and at a time when Oriental learning signally flourished in this kingdom; of which themselves, indeed, were splendid examples, as having been educated very near that period, and probably by some of those persons. Of such an era, and of such men, among whom we shall find <sup>2</sup> prompters, as it were, of the London Polyglot, a review, therefore, may not be improper; especially if it brings with it any new illustration of the English Version so esteemed and commended, as we have seen, by Dr. Walton.

The cultivation of Oriental learning, in this country, was conspicuous even before the Reformation. Till we come to its richer harvest in the times of Elizabeth and James I. we may

the Translation of the LXX. in the text before us, *which I conceive to be genuine and true!*" Lewis in his Hist. Essay of the English Versions, has noticed the objections of this *learned trifler*, as he calls him, made against the authorized Translation in 1659; to whose book I refer the reader, 2d edit. p. 332, et seq.

<sup>2</sup> See particularly what is said of Mr. Eyre's intention, and therewith of Mr. Lively's, in the following pages.

make a brief selection of evidences in the three preceding reigns. At the beginning of the sixteenth century<sup>1</sup>, *Robert Shirwade*, a member of the University of Oxford, was distinguished for his great progress in the Hebrew and Greek languages; and, about the year 1519, went to Louvain, as the successor of *Robert Wakefield*, in reading the Hebrew Lecture at that place. He published in 1523, at Antwerp, *Liber Hebræorum Concionatoris, seu Ecclesiastis, nuper ad veritatem Hebræam recognitus, cum nonnullis Annotationibus Chaldaicis, et quorundam Rabinorum Sententijs Textus obscuros aliquos literaliter explanantibus*.

Among the scholars of his time, *Shirwade* appears to have maintained a very high character. Coeval with his production was a kindred one of \* *Dr. R. Pace*, in which he was assisted by *Robert Wakfield*, or *Wakefield*, who had been Hebrew Professor both at Louvain and Tubingen, and who as early as in the year 1524 was sent by king Henry the Eighth to teach the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic languages at Cambridge. The production of *Dr. Pace* was, *Præfatio in Ecclesiasten recognitum ad Hebraicam veritatem, et collatum cum Translatione LXX Interpretum*,

<sup>1</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Oz.

\* Ibid.

**&c.** Of this author it would be sufficient to say that he was commended by Erasmus, if the Oxford biographer had not added, "and by all other heroes of learning in that age." He was appointed Dean of St. Paul's, London, in 1519, and died in 1532. He had commenced the study of the Hebrew tongue with *Wakefield*; who became a proficient in it of the <sup>a</sup> most eminent character; and of whom the University of Oxford, to which also he had been sent for the same purpose as to Cambridge, said in an Epistle to the king, that, <sup>b</sup> *besides his various accomplishments, he gave place to none for his admirable knowledge in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic tongues.* To promote the taste for sacred literature, *Wakefield* published a <sup>c</sup> Latin oration, which he had delivered at Cambridge, upon the great utility of the Arabic, Chaldee, and Hebrew lan-

<sup>a</sup> Johnson, in his *Holy David and his Old English Translators* cleared, (1706,) refers to a Bible of *Wakefield* with marginal notes, and to one of his criticisms; calling him *one of the first masters of Hebrew in England.* Notes upon *Holy David*, &c. p. 60. Hody has also cited him upon the subject of the Hebrew points. *Hist. Vers. c. 13. l. 3. p. 2.* See likewise Dr. Walton's *Considerator considered*, ch. xi. §. 2.

<sup>b</sup> A. Wood, *Ath. Ox.*

<sup>c</sup> De laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum, *Arabicae, Chaldaicae, et Hebraicae*, atque idiomatibus *Hebraicis* quæ in utroque Testamento inveniuntur. 1524.



guages; which also was not the 'only public specimen of his skill as an Oriental critic. Proceeding afterwards to Oxford, he became a canon of king Henry the Eighth's college, since called Christ Church, where he continued some years as Hebrew Professor, and instructed many in the Eastern tongues. At Cambridge his brother *Thomas* rendered similar service, and was the 'first of the Regius Professors of Hebrew, so called, in that University; both Universities having been honoured in 1540 by the royal foundation of a Hebrew Professorship; than which there could not be a more judicious application of kingly munificence; and which was soon repaid with the happiest consequences. The successor of *Robert Wakefield* at Oxford, '*John Shepreve*, a most skilful linguist, had begun, about the year 1538, to explain, in the public schools, the book of Genesis in the Hebrew language; and would have proceeded with the books which follow, if death had not prevented him. Of the same University also was '*John Helyar*, who, being noted "for his extraordinary suffici-

\* See more in A. Wood, Ath. Ox. viz. Paraphrasis in Librum *Kohélet* quem vulgò *Ecclesiasten* vocant, &c. and Syntagma de Hebræorum Codicum incorruptione.

† See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 412. Robert Wakefield died in 1537.

‡ A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

§ Ibid.

encies in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues," had, in the earlier part of the century, been patronised by Wolsey, the discerning and liberal friend of learned men. But at the head of those in the reign of HENRY THE EIGHTH, who have benefited their country by their skill in languages, must ever stand the names of *Tyndal* and *Coverdale*; men, who eminently proved themselves "by their knowledge of learning meet for the people," in presenting them with Versions of the Sacred Text from the original tongues; men, to whom the sound scholar still<sup>1</sup> appeals with admiration. Nor may it be omitted, that the learned<sup>2</sup> *Cuthbert Tunstal*, bishop of Durham, in this reign, has been also called a good Hebrician.

During the short reigns of EDWARD THE SIXTH and MARY, we behold the martyrs<sup>3</sup> *Hooper* and

<sup>2</sup> Ecclus. xlv. 4.

<sup>1</sup> An Oriental scholar, and critic of high distinction, takes occasion to shew the accuracy of this venerable translator in sometimes preferring his text, and commending his annotation. See Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture, by John Gregorie, M.A. 4th Edit. 1684, pp. 4, 83. The learned reader may consult the Commentaries of Pocock also on the Prophets. See likewise Whittaker's Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, &c. 1819, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

" *Philpot* among the Hebricians of the time ; the former having applied very studiously, at Zurich, to the Hebrew tongue ; the latter having been described as admirably skilled in Hebrew, as well as Greek, of which he gave proof in two books, *Epistolæ Hebraicæ*, and *De Proprietate Linguarum*. Of those who translated the Geneva Bible, as it is called, in the reign of Mary, besides *Coverdale*, we have " their own and " contemporary testimony that they well understood the grace and propriety both of the Hebrew and Greek tongue. Within this period also must be reckoned bishop " *Alley*, afterwards one of the Translators of the Bishops' Bible, who was the author of a Hebrew Grammar, and a person universally learned, " especially in divinity and in the tongues ;" as well as his fellow-labourer, bishop " *Bentham*, who, about the beginning of Edward's reign, is said to have addicted his mind entirely to the study of theology and the learning

" A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

" " They most reverently kept the propriety of the words, and in many places reserved the Hebrew phrases." Pref. Genev. Bib.

" " The Geneva Bibles do not profess to translate out of *Beza's* Latin Translation, but out of the Hebrew and Greek." Fulke's Defence of the English Translations, 1583, p. 23.

" A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

" Ibid.

of the Hebrew language: to whom may be added bishop ' *Davies*, another of these Translators, who in the time of Mary fled from this country; and after his return, in the following reign, served Wales also, as well as England, with his assistance in translations of the Bible, from the original, into the language of both countries. Nor were ecclesiastics the only persons who became accomplished in Hebrew learning within the preceding times. *Etheridge*, a physician, from the latter part of Henry's reign till about 1588, was an 'eminent Hebrician; and, among other works, "turned the Psalms of David into a short form of Hebrew verse." And *Hales*, of an ancient family in Kent, who also obtained at Oxford the character of 'great skill in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, was Henry's clerk of the hanaper. The knowledge of Hebrew also then sometimes formed a part even of female education for ladies of superior rank; and accordingly Paschali, in his Translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew into Italian verse, dedicated it to our queen Elizabeth, as one who was well acquainted with the Eastern tongues:

' Dr. Llewelyn's Historical Account of the British or Welsh Versions of the Bible, pp. 57, 58.

' A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

' Ibid.

"Tal che non ampia di te lode estrema,  
 "Come l'*Hebree*, *Chaldee*, Greche, et Latine  
 "Carte in se nulla ti celano, ò poco."

Having entered upon THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, we soon behold, with grateful admiration, the goodly company of those, who made the present Version of our Bible in the reign of her successor. Of these several, if they have been equalled, have not yet been excelled, by any of their countrymen, in Oriental learning. With men of similar studies the kingdom then abounded. Nor could it well be otherwise; attention having been paid to the cultivation of such learning in public schools, founded soon after the accession of Elizabeth; and the pursuit being greatly encouraged in both Universities. At Oxford the first Professor of Hebrew, whom the queen appointed in 1559, had instructed at an earlier period several scholars in that language. That, in the sister University, the study of the Oriental tongues was among her ordinary studies, we learn from an observation, made by the master of a college; who describes many youths of Cambridge, in 1583, as

\* De' Sacri Salmi, &c. Dedic. sign. \* 2. b.

\* T. Neale. See A. Wood, Ath. Ox. and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 472. This learned person presented to Elizabeth, when at Oxford in 1566, a translation which he had made of the Prophets from the Hebrew.

\* intimate with the Hebrew and Chaldee. That, in public schools, emulation to this effect was excited, may be exemplified in a notice of Examinations at Merchant-Tailors' School, where, in 1572, the bishop of Winchester "tried the scholars in the Hebrew Psalter;" and where "the famous Richard Mulcaster," as he has been called, was then master, distinguished also for his skill in Eastern literature; under whom one of the first scholars of the time, and as a linguist, a second \* Mithridates, Dr. *Lancelot Andrewes*, was educated.

With that venerable name the order of persons, agreed upon for the present Translation of the

\* Defence of the Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue, &c, by W. Fulke, D.D. Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, 1583. p. 340.

\* History of Merchant Tailors' School, by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, p. 39.

† Sir J. Harrington's Brief View of the Church, 1653. p. 141. "Bishop Andrewes was trained up in the school of that famous Mulcaster."

\* Vid. Præf. in Vet. Interpretis cum Beza, &c. Collat. à Joh. Boisio, 1655, "Lancelotus, Episc. Winton. de quo silere satius esset quam pauca dicere; stupendum ævi sui miraculum, oraculumque; qui in linguis *Mithridates*, in artibus Aristoteles, ita unus complexus est omnes, ut quas tenerent cæteri singulas singuli, eas obtineret ille unus universas." See what is said of *John Bois* in a subsequent age.

Bible, commenced. Nor could a more vigilant and accomplished leader have been selected. The compositions of *Andrewes* abound with Hebrew criticism, at the same time that they caution against " " that wresting and tentering of the Scriptures, which St. Peter complaineth of, with expositions and glosses newly coined, to make them speak that they never meant !" I shall now select, from the order which I have mentioned, and as they are ranked in it, those who, associated with Dr. *Andrewes* in the work, were like him, in the times of Elizabeth and James the First, very eminent Oriental scholars.

In this order, then, the next person named, whom we know as a Hebrew critic, is Dr. *Adrian Saravia* ; <sup>b</sup> educated in all kinds of literature in his younger days, especially in several languages. He was the master of the celebrated Oriental scholar, Nicholas Fuller, who gratefully mentions him in the Præf. to his *Miscellanea Theologica* ; and he was one of those, who had successfully answered an objection of the puritans, which they <sup>c</sup> revived in the Conference at Hampton Court, in

<sup>a</sup> One of his Sermons on the second Commandment, preached Jan. 9. 1592.

<sup>b</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox,

<sup>c</sup> See the Sum and Substance of the Conference at Hampton Court, p. 46. And *Saravia's Works*, 1611, P. II. p. 2. " Nulla subscriptio exigitur Translationum quarum-

regard to a verse in the old English Version of the Psalms. Next to him in rank is Dr. *Richard Clerke*, who thoroughly understood three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; whence a learned ' fellow-collegian denominated him *trium linguarum peritissimum*. Christ College, in Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, " ' had a testimony of his learning in his Hebrew Lectures; so had the University in his Disputations and Sermons; so had the Church, when his Majesty (James I.) called many to the work of the last Translation of the English Bible; in which number he was, like one of the chief of David's worthies, not amongst the thirty, but amongst the first three." To him and to Dr. *Saravia*, it appears, that the portion assigned to their care was " ' from the Pentateuch to the Book of Chronicles." In the Sermons of this scholar we

cunque, nisi quatenus consentiunt cum veritate Hebraica. Nemo prohibetur, quando aliquem Scripturæ locum interpretatur, versionem quam habet revocare ad Hebraicam veritatem." Thus *appealing to the Hebrew verity*, he illustrates the passage in question, Ps. cv. 28. Johnson, in his *Holy David and his Old English Translators* cleared, (1706,) has more largely explained it. Notes, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Andrew Willet, an eminent biblical critic, in a dedicatory Epistle to Christ College.

\* Preface to Dr. Clerke's Sermons, (fol. 1637,) by the Rev. Charles White, who published the Sermons after the death of Dr. Clerke.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid. sign. A 3.



find many gratifying evidences of the skill, so requisite to the great business in which he had been engaged. We find him at one time <sup>2</sup> correcting the Geneva Translation and the Septuagint ; at another, <sup>3</sup> explaining a critical practice of himself and brethren, as they proceeded in their work ; and occasionally <sup>1</sup> bestowing very interesting commendation upon those fellow-labourers, by

<sup>2</sup> Sermons, p. 38.

<sup>1</sup> This is too important to be omitted. " There yet remaine two words, *but written in small letters*, (viz. among them,) as not found in the Original. Translators have added them, to make the sense more plaine. Had they not, it had skilled little ; for they are before in the beginning of the verse : *He cast upon them*, is all one to say *he sent among them* ; yea, *he sent among them*, sounds closer to the Hebrew." Sermon (on Psalm lxxviii. 49.) p. 184. See the Bible Translation of the Psalms.

<sup>3</sup> Sermons, p. 552. " The preacher and the prophet, Salomon I mean and Jeremie, the one termes death *somnum seculi*, the other the grave *domum seculi* ; which, haply, you will English, an eternall sleepe, an everlasting home. But then you force the words both Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin, further than you need. *עולם*, *aión*, and *seculum*, signifie indeede eternitie, but not alwayes, *et wailaxū*, saith Theodoret. They all sometimes meane but a certaine space ; oft-times. The rigid grammarian must not urge the etymon, *aión*, that is *aión aión*, ever enduring. And therefore your Bible, the last English Translation calls the grave a *long home*, not an everlasting. (Eccles. xii. 5.) You must expound it so, or denie the resurrection."

whom another portion of the Bible was translated. In short, the volume is throughout a storehouse of biblical learning. Dr. Clerke is followed by Dr. *Layfield* ; to whose Hebrew criticisms the learned and acute Gataker abundantly <sup>1</sup> refers with confidence, and whose testimony as to skill in the Hebrew tongue Minsheu <sup>1</sup> sought and acknowledged, when he published his very valuable *Guide into Tongues*. Dr. *Robert Teigh*, or *Tighe*, is the next ; <sup>2</sup> an excellent textuary, and a profound linguist, whom Mr. *Geoffry King*, the Regius Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge, follows ; and him Mr. *William Bedwell*, the principal Arabic scholar of his time. To *Bedwell*, indeed, the incomparably learned Pocock <sup>3</sup> applied, in his early years, for instruction in oriental learning. To *Bedwell* the praise of being the <sup>4</sup> first, who considerably promoted the study of the Arabic language in Europe, is considered as more justly belonging than to Thomas Erpenius, who commonly has it ; Erpe-

<sup>1</sup> T. Gatakeri Opera Critica, fol. 1698. Vid. col. 304, and 381, ad col. 386.

<sup>1</sup> Testimonies of learned men prefixed to Minsheu's Dictionary of eleven Languages, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

<sup>3</sup> Twells's Life of Pocock, §. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. See also Worthington's Letters to Hartlib, (1681,) p. 282. " Mr. Bedwell, who taught Erpenius."

nus, when in England, having been obliged to him for many directions in that sort of learning. To *Bedwell* we owe several<sup>p</sup> collections of Eastern literature, especially an Arabic Lexicon, the work of many years, still existing in the Public Library at Cambridge; which had been lent to Castell, the great assistant of Dr. Walton, when he compiled his Polyglot Lexicon. To *Bedwell*, also, the profound scholar, Dr. Lightfoot, another of the coadjutors in the London Polyglot, has<sup>q</sup> acknowledged the highest obligations.

Passing now to a *Regius* Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, we find in him every accomplishment becoming that distinguished station. He was a man, to whom later critics of eminence have bowed as to a master; whose Annotations upon five of the minor Prophets, (originally published by him with a Latin translation of the text from

<sup>p</sup> Among Laud's MSS. Bodleian Library, Ox. the commencement of a Persian Dictionary, and his Arabic Translation of the Catholic Epistles of St. John. In print, his *Arabian Trudgman*, 4to. 1615.

<sup>q</sup> Lightfoot's *Miscell.* 1629, p. 127. "Of the largeness of the Arabic alphabet and difference from other alphabets, or indeed any thing of the tongue I cannot say, which I have not received of the most industrious and thrice learned, both in this and other the noble tongues, Master William Bedwell, whom I cannot name without a great deal of thankfulness and honour: to whom I will rather be a scholar, than take on me teach others."

the Hebrew,) adorn the collection, entitled *Critica Sacri*; whom Usher, and Eyres, and Pocock, and Gataker, always 'cite with gratitude, or name with reverence. This was *Edward Lively*; of whom so interesting a narrative has been given, (which is little known,) in a Sermon preached on account of his death, that, in copying it, I shall hardly be censured for departing from the method, hitherto observed, of making only brief references to the testimonies of Eastern learning so successfully cultivated in THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. The text of the Sermon is Ps. xxxii. 6; the author, Dr. Thomas Playfere, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge.

“ ‘ This our dear brother, M. Edward Lively,

‘ See Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher, Pocock's Commentaries, and Gataker's Opera Critica.

‘ Funeral Sermon, by Thomas Playfere, D.D. preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge, May 10, 1606. Sermons, 8vo. 1616. p. 202. Lively, it appears, had also intended a very complete Hebrew Grammar. “ Hoc scilicet votum nostrum est, ut quæ Grammatica optimis aliquando auspiciis prodiiit, subsidiariis deinceps aliorum operis eo perducatur, ut quæ hactenus multis præluxit aliis, una aliquando, absolutior et perfectior reddita præluceat omnibus. Huic fini egregiè quidem jam ante aliquot annos operam navavit doctissimus *Edwardus Livelcius*, Regius Hebrææ Linguae Cantabrigiæ in Anglia Professor; sed ejus Notæ nondum adhuc lucem aspexerunt.” Gulielmi Coddæi ad Grammaticam Hebr. Petri Martinii Notæ, Præf. ad Lectorem. 8vo Amst. 1621.

who now resteth in the Lord, led a life which in a manner was nothing els but a continuall *flood of waters*. Never out of suits of law, never-ceasing disquieters of his studie. His goods distrained, and his cattell driven off his ground, as Job's was. His deare wife beeing not so well able to beare so great a flood as he, even for verie sorrow presently died. A lamentable and rueful case. So many children to hang upon his hand, for which he had never maintenance, neither yet now had stay, his wife being gone. Well, but that sorrowfull time was blowne over. He was appointed to be *one of the chiefest translators*. And as soone as it was knowne how farre in this travaile hee did more than any of the rest, he was very well provided for in respect of living. For which my L. his Grace of Canterbury, now living, is much to be revered and honoured. But beeing so well to passe both for himselfe and for his children, sodainely he fell sicke. He was taken with an ague and a squinsey both together: and the more usuall that was, the lesse dangerous was this accompted; but the event shewes the contrarie. For the squinsey being both by himselfe and his friends not greatly regarded, within foure daies tooke away his life. These were *many waters*, and diverse tribulations. Besides a thousand more, which I cannot now stand to repeate. Yet he carried himselfe so in life and death, as

*these waters seemed never once to come neare him.* He was professour of the Hebrew tongue in this Universitie thirtie yeares.

“ Our good brother having no such profit or dignity (as an earldom or a dukedom) propounded unto him, but contenting himselfe with his stipend, spent halfe his life in this place. For he was upon threescore yeares old when he died. He wrote a book of Annotations upon the first five small Prophets, dedicated to that great patron of learning and learned men, Sir Francis Walsingham. Wherein divers speeches and phrases of the Prophets are compared with the like in poets and oratours, both Greek and Latin ; and many notes, neither unpleasant nor unprofitable to be read, are set out of the Rabbins. But in mine opinion he took greatest pains in his Chronologie, which he dedicated to Doctor John Whitgift, the late Archbishop of Canterbury. This book indeede is full of hidden learning, and sheweth infinite reading in stories. I asked him within this little while, whether he had written no more bookes. He tould me had, but printed no more, because he had no time to peruse and perfect them for other businesse. Now by businesse he meant, I weene, *especially his studie and care to performe well his taske in the translation.* Wherein how excellently he was imployed, all they can witness who were joyned with him in

that labour. For though they be *the verie flower of the Universitie for knowledge of the tongues*, yet they will not be ashamed to confesse, that no one man of their companie, if not by other respects, yet at least wise for long experience and exercise *in this kind, was to be compared with him*. For indeede he was so desirous that this business, begunne by the commandement of our most gracious soveraigne King James, should be brought to a happie ende, that oftentimes, in many men's hearings, he protested that he had rather die, than be any way negligent herein. Which as some thinke by all likelihood came indeede to passe. To wit, *that too earnest studie and paines about the translation, hastened his death, and brought it on sooner*. Now as he lived so, in his profession, in his writings, in his translating, as though *all the floods of many waters* had never come neare him: even so also he died. During the short time of his sicknesse, he carried himselfe, as alwaies before, humbly, mildly, quietly, constantly. One of his loving friends standing by his bed, and saying, *M. Lively*, I pray God you may have patience, and hope, and especially faith unto the ende; he, lifting up his hands, said heartily and cheerefully, *Amen*. Little used he to speake, and more he could not say, for the paine and impediment of his squimsey. Which though it made a speedie

ende of him, as the apoplexié did of the good Emperor Valentinian, yet how could any death be sodaine to him, whose whole life was nothing else but a meditation of death, and whom the Lord whensoever he came, might finde doing his dutie? Wherefore no reason we should lament his departure out of this world. He lived blessedly, he died blessedly in the Lord. Rather, you reverend and learned Universitie-men, lament for this, that you have lost so famous a Professor, and so worthie a writer. Lament, you translatours, being now deprived of him; who no lesse by his merit and desert, than *by the privilege of his place*, was to order and oversee all your travailes. Lament, you poore orphans, eleven poore children of you, which he left behind him; as Christ ascending, left eleven disciples; bereaved of your kinde and deare father, destitute of necessaries for your maintenance, to seeke of all helpe and meanes, but onely (as poore folkes use to speake) such as God and good friends shall provide. Lament, lament, all of you, of the Towne as well as of the Universitie, because our school hath lost such a singular ornament of this age, because our Churches have lost such a faithfull and syncere servant of Christ."

The next in order, Dr. *Laurence Chaderton*, was probably the pupil of Lively. For he appears, as early as in 1579, at which time Lively



had been Professor of Hebrew some years, a composer of Hebrew poetry. Prefixed to the Readings of Dr. *Peter Baro* upon the Prophet *Jonah*, are verses written by several Cambridge students; among whom *Chaderton* is distinguished as a Greek, a Latin, and a Hebrew poet. I mention this, not only as a proof that Hebrew was then closely studied; but also in order to illustrate the communication of that language by the press, in this country, both at the period of which I am speaking, and likewise at an earlier and later date. It has been said, in a work of great elegance, that of the *Hebrew type*, while the *Polyglot of Alcalá* (1514—1517) affords such a copious and beautiful specimen, "*our own country, nearly an hundred years afterwards, was not able to print even three lines in the same language*, from a deficiency of Hebrew types. This information the learned author derived, he says, from a discovery of Lord Spencer; who, in a

<sup>1</sup> P. Baronis, Sacræ Theologiæ in Acad. Cantab. Doctoris ac Professoris, in *Jonam Prælectiones* 39. *Opera et studio Osmundi Laki Cantab. à Regio Collegio Ministri collect. et ab autore ipso recognit.* Lond. apud J. Dayum, Typog. an. 1579. The reader will often find in this volume important Hebrew criticisms. See pp. 29, 41, 46, 59, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, vol. i. p. 75.

volume which contained *Academias Oxoniensis Pietas, &c. Oxon, 1603*, found an observation, in a poem composed by Dr. Thorne, Regius Professor of the Hebrew language, that not more than two lines of Hebrew could be printed, because of the want of types. Now, while this certainly proves that the *Oxford printer* was, at that time, without a great assortment of Hebrew letters; it neither proves that *our country*, generally speaking, was then, or before, unable to print the quantity mentioned, nor that *Oxford* had now for the first time so distinguished itself. In fact, I have seen a work printed in \* 1597, at our famous University, in which Hebrew types are used. But when I recall *Chaderton* as an evidence, I offer through him to the public the notice of very fair Hebrew letters, in the work mentioned, which was printed at *London*

\* *Agatharchidis et Memnonis Historicorum, quæ supersunt, omnia, à Græco jam recens in Latinum traducta: per Rich. Brettum, Oxoniensem, à Collegio Lincoln. 12mo. Oxoniæ, 1597.* It is dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton, and after the dedication exhibits, on a folded leaf, the three theses of Mr. Brett, "in Comitibus Oxon. 1597," with verses subjoined to each; to the first Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, all printed; to the second, Latin, Chaldee, Syriac, of which the last is written; to the third, Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic, the second and third being written.

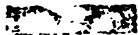
in 1579. Six years before, indeed, and at the same place, <sup>a</sup> *Laurence Humfrey*, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, printed the 'life of Bishop Jewell; subjoined to which are verses on the death of that great prelate in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; of which last language the types are not indeed of the font which the preceding work exhibits, but are such as may be read without difficulty. Of both works Day was the printer; and they, who then encouraged Hebrew learning, probably suggested the improvement at his press of Hebrew types. Of rude Hebrew letters, even so far back as in 1524, the Oration of *Wakefield*, noticed in a former page, exhibits specimens. *Chaderton*, who has occasioned this vindication, was renowned for his familiarity with <sup>a</sup> Hebrew and rabbinical learning; and has furnished <sup>a</sup> succeeding scholars with many biblical observations.

<sup>a</sup> Himself an able linguist. A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

<sup>y</sup> Joannis Juelli Vita et Mors, &c. apud J. Dayum, 1573.

<sup>z</sup> "Linguis ille Latinam, Græcam, et Hebræam, familiares sibi reddidit, et intimius perspectas; quin et multa rabbinorum scripta, quatenus Scripturis Sacris intelligendis incem aliquam fœnerari videbantur, diligentèr scrutatus est, &c." Vita L. Chadertonii, &c. à W. Dillingham, S. T. P. Cantab. 1766, p. 15.

<sup>a</sup> See Gatakeri Crit. Opp. and Colomesii Observ. Sac.



Of *Thomas Harrison*, Vice-Master of Trinity College, in Cambridge, who follows Dr. Chader-ton, his own University made choice, on account of his <sup>b</sup> eminent skill in Hebrew and Greek, as a principal examiner of such as desired to excel in those languages.

To another Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge we come next, Dr. *Robert Spalding*; a man most accomplished in Hebrew literature, as a most learned <sup>c</sup> pupil and critic has recorded.

Dr. *Rainolds*, or *Reinolds*, of Oxford, now presents himself to our notice; of whom it was said, that “<sup>d</sup> to name Rainolds is to commend virtue itself.” The same pen has recorded him, as most prodigiously seen in all kinds of learning, and most excellent in all tongues. He is followed by Dr. *Holland*, of the same University, and Regius Professor of Divinity; who bore the character of one “<sup>e</sup> mighty in the Scriptures,”

<sup>b</sup> “ In Academia, ob eximiam Hebræi Græcique idiomatis, inter primarios fuit examinatores eorum qui publicam ambiunt harum linguarum professionem.” *Harrisonus Honoratus, &c.* à C. Dalechampio, Cantab. 1632, p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Gataker, *De Novi Instrumenti Stylo*, Lond. 1648, p. 47.

“ *Rob. Spaldingus*, ὁ παναρίτερος, vir literarum Hebraicarum peritissimus, cui ego prima linguae sanctæ rudimenta debeo; quique D. *Livellæ* in professione publica successit,”

<sup>d</sup> A. Wood, *Ath. Ox.*

<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

and published a ' Sermon, giving abundant proof of Eastern learning. Dr. *Kilby*, rector of Lincoln College, is the next in order, who ' left commentaries on Exodus, chiefly formed from the monuments of the rabbins and Hebrew interpreters. Dr. *Miles Smith*, and Dr. *Richard Brett*, follow; the former so ' conversant and expert in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, that he made them as familiar to him, almost, as his native tongue; and had Hebrew also at his fingers' ends: the latter, ' skilled and versed to a criticism in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongues.

To the preceding scholars, whose talents have been recorded, and were employed upon portions of the Old Testament, may be added Mr. *Geoffry King*, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge; Mr. *Andrew Byng*, who held the same distinguished office in that University; and Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Βασίλειος D. Elizabethæ, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ. A Sermon preached at Paul's, in London, November 17, 1699, by T. Holland, D.D. and her Highness Professor thereof in her University of Oxford. Ox. 1601. See the Preface, sign. b. 2. and c. 2. b.; and the Sermon, sign. E. 2. b. Also the Apologetical Discourse after the Sermon.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. See also what is said of him in the note (v), p. 114.

*Harding*, the like in Oxford. For though no other particulars of them, as to Oriental learning, are now, perhaps, to be found ; it is not possible to make any other estimate of men, appointed to such stations, than that, like their fellow-labourers, they were fully prepared to the good work in which they were engaged.

But how will our admiration be encreased at the Hebrew learning of the time, when it is found that *Dakins*, and *Abbot*, and *Ward*, and *Bois*, all of them skilled in the original languages, and two of them incomparably so, could yet be spared for parts of the \* Apocrypha, and of the New Testament !

\* It is curious to observe the discordant opinions upon the translation of the Apocryphal Books. Arnauld, the commentator, considers it often as faulty ; although some very considerable persons were employed in it, among whom, he says, was the learned Dr. Duport, the then Greek Professor in the University of Cambridge. Preface to a Critical Commentary on the Book of Wisdom, 1744, p. viii. Dr. Gray observes, that some blemishes may be attributed to our Translators, who, in rendering the Apocryphal Books, have confessedly betrayed much carelessness ; and that the learned Duport, then Greek Professor at Cambridge, was among those able persons employed under King James, but that his work, [what part of the work ?] though it has much merit, is very frequently imperfect. Preface to the Apocryphal Books, Key to the Bible, 2d edition, 1791, p. 522. Now it so happens, that the Greek

Thus the skill of Mr. *Dakins*, in the original languages of the Bible, has <sup>1</sup> not been unremembered. And of Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, there remains an <sup>m</sup> exposition upon the Prophet *Jonah*, occasionally enriched with Hebrew criticism. But for Dr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Bois*; who were also thus selected, memorials of Oriental learning, in their own productions, (not to mention the record and the praise of contemporary and succeeding scholars,) amply present themselves.

Dr. *Samuel Ward*, the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was the constant

Professor, at Cambridge, had nothing to do with the Translation: that person was Dr. *James Duport*, fellow of Trinity College; the Translator was Dr. *John Duport*, Master of Jesus College. However, Dr. *Geddes* thinks, that the Books, called Apocrypha, are in general better translated than the rest of the Bible; for which one reason may be, that the Translators of them were not cramped by the fetters of the Masora. Prospectus of a New Translation of the Bible, 1786, p. 94. The manner, followed by Dr. *Ward* in the part of the Apocrypha which he translated, exhibits, as we shall presently see, great care and discrimination.

<sup>1</sup> *Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 46.

<sup>m</sup> An Exposition upon the Prophet *Jonah*, contained in certain Sermons, preached in St. Marie's Church, in Oxford, by G. Abbot, Professor of Divinitie and Maister of Universitie College, 1600.

<sup>a</sup> correspondent of Archbishop Usher upon subjects of biblical and oriental criticism. Among his curious *Adversaria* in the library of Sidney College, of which he was Master, there remain the proof of his attention in <sup>a</sup>-translating the first book of

<sup>a</sup> See Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher and others, among which are many of Dr. Samuel Ward, full of biblical and oriental criticism.

<sup>o</sup> As a specimen of the way, in which Dr. Ward proceeded with his share of the Translation, I select a few verses out of the first chapter of the first book of Esdras.

Chap. i. ver. 4. And sayd] deest in Græco, sed restit. ex 2 Chron. xxxv. 3. ubi habetur καὶ ὁνομα ἡ βασιλεὺς. *Our present Version therefore has these words in Italic letters.*

Ibid. villages] families, (the auncient houses.) Sic BB. Episc. (the Bishops' Bible,) 2 Chron. xxxv. 4, or houses of the fathers, Geneva (Bible.) *Our present Version accordingly reads families.*

Ver. 27. maketh diligent speed with me] melius, the Lord hasteneth me forward. Græc. ἡ Κεραὶς μετ' ἐμὲ ἰσχυροῦμαι ἰσχύ. 2. Chron. xxxv. 21. καὶ ἡ Θεὸς ἔστι μετὰ κατασκευάσας με. *Our present Version reads, the Lord is with me hastening me forward.*

Ver. 36. And he rayed a task of the people] Græcè, ἐξέτασεν τὸ ἔθνος. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. ἐτίβαλε φόβον. Heb. multavit. Sic Montanus. *Therefore our present Version reads, And he set a tax upon the land.*

In this manner almost every verse, in each chapter of the book, is more or less examined,



Eodras, which probably was the sole part of the Apocrypha assigned to him ; and a ' collation of ancient Versions upon the beginning of Genesis.

Of Mr. *John Bois*, " that eminent light of learning," as he has been called, it has been related, that he was ' extremely well acquainted with the Hebrew language ; and it is abundantly shewn in his "' *Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio in Quatuor Evangeliiis, et Apostolorum Actis, &c.*" This work, indeed, contains a profusion of diversified and exquisite criticism, gratifying the taste both of the classical and biblical scholar. It has also afforded the author various opportunities of calling to mind the noble work of the ' Translation

¶ Namely of the first six chapters, in the following order : *Pagnine's Version*, the Chaldee, the Greek, the Latin Vulgate, *Tremellius's*, an English, a French, and an Italian.

¶ *Biograph. Brit. and Whittaker*, ut supr. p. 88.

¶ It is a posthumous publication. Bois had been encouraged in the production of it by Bishop Andrewes. *Wolfius* refers to it in his *Curæ Philologicæ*.

¶ For an instance or two, out of very many : "*Anglici nostri interpretes editione illa, quæ novissima est, omniumque accuratissima habetur, locum hunc sic reddiderunt; and when he thought thereon he wept. Hæc interpretatio in contextu quem vocant; in margine autem adduntur alie dæ; he wept abundantly, or he began to weep.*" *Collat.* p. 148. "*Hanc interpretationem secuti sunt Anglici interpretes in novissima versione, et nisi fuissent secuti, proculdubio non fecissent officium bonorum et fidelium inter-*

in which he had been employed, and of commending those who were employed with him.

With Dr. *John Aglionby*, another of the Translators, and an 'excellent linguist ; and with Dr. *Bilson*, Bishop of Winchester, "well versed in languages also, and a reviewer of the whole Translation ; I close the *positive* testimonies of competence, and in various instances of eminence, as to Oriental learning, for very many of the men

pretum." *Ib.* p. 830. In p. 834, he illustrates the importance of the Arabic tongue ; and throughout inquires into the merit of various Versions of Scripture. Of the Septuagint he says, "Qui 70 Interpretes non legit, aut minus legit accuratè, is sciat se non aded idoneum, qui Scripta Evangelica Apostolica de Græco in Latinum aut alium aliquem sermonem transferat, utut in aliis Græcis Scriptoribus multum diuque fuerit versatus." *Ib.* p. 61. This he has connected with a Hebrew criticism. I will cite one more passage, containing classical emendation. 'Ενίχην αὐτῷ, St. Mark vi. 19. " 'Ενίχην est, ἰσχυρῶς, ἰσχυρότερον, ἐργάζετο, ἡμνοῦνται id est, odio et ira ardebat, infesta erat, irascebatur, malevole erat animo. Sic Hesychius : 'Ενίχην, ἰσχυρῶς, (rectius fortè ἰσχυρότερον,) ἐργάζετο. Et paulo post : 'Ενίχην, μνηστικῶς, ἔκλειπεν, (ita enim legendum censeo pro ἔκλειπεν.) Declarat ergo hoc verbum talem iram, qualis illa fuit de qua Poeta, sævæ memorem Junonis ob iram ; vimque ejus optimè et vidiisse et expressisse videntur Anglici nostri interpretes in hunc modum loquentes : *Therefore Herodias had a quarrel against him, or, Therefore Herodias had an inward grudge against him.*" *Collat.* p. 115.

\* A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

\* *Ibid.*

appointed to so great an undertaking; at the same time not doubting that *all* of them, though *now* particular proof be wanting, were well skilled in the original tongues, and among the first scholars of a most learned age.

But in THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, indeed, of such account was Hebrew, that for the sake of those who were ignorant of Latin, and who desired to learn the holy tongue, John Udall translated the Hebrew Grammar of Martinus into English, and added a praxis upon three of the Psalms according to the rules of the same Grammar, in 1593. Nor to the distinguished scholars of this reign, already noticed, must we forget to add the judicious \* *Hooker*, who, in 1579 and some years afterwards, was the deputy Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford; and Sir \* *Thomas Bodley*, who, at an earlier period, had returned to that University from abroad, fraught with Hebrew as with various other learning. Among the divines, also, who were then great Hebricians, must be reckoned, Dr. † *William*

† A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

\* "Omnia enim illa seu sacra *Hebræorum*, seu secreta *Chaldæorum*, seu quicquid habet *Syria* reconditi, omnia illi quesita, meditata, evigilataque erant." Oratio Funeb. à Joh. Halesio, Mant. 20. 1613. Bodleianema, 4to. Ox. 1613. ad. fin.

† Ibid.

*Thorne*, the Regius Professor of the language at Oxford, reputed eminent, both at home and abroad, for his incomparable skill in the Oriental tongues; and \* *Hugh Broughton*, and *Henry Ainsworth*, whose learning, however, was too often exercised without judgment.

To the REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST we now look for the successful progress of Eastern learning; and immediately behold *William Bedell*, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, accompanying Sir *Henry Wotton*, in 1604, to Venice, where he † increased his erudition with improvement in the Hebrew, and in the acquirement of rabbinical knowledge. We behold *Usher*, in 1607, † proceeding in the thorny road of criticism, which soon he strewed with delightful flowers; proving himself a true guide to any solid learning, whether sacred or profane. We witness about the same time, exquisitely skilled in Oriental languages, as † *Hammond*, himself a master, has

\* *Lewis's History of the English Version of the Bible*, 2d edit. pp. 297, 352. See also *Walton's Considerator* considered, chap. i. sect. 3.

† *Bishop Burnet's Life, &c. of Bishop Bedell*, p. 20, and p. 260.

† See his very interesting Letter to Mr. *Eyre*, dat. 12. Kal. January, 1607. *Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher*, &c. p. 2.

† In his *Commentary on the Psalms*, Psalm xxii. 15.

pronounced him, *Nicholas Fuller*; a man, whom Wood, and the more accomplished scholars of succeeding times, have considered as the most admired critic of his age. Then also flourished *Thomas Gataker*, who at a very early age had<sup>a</sup> translated parts of the Bible out of the Original Tongues; and who compiled a<sup>b</sup> body of Hebrew and Greek criticism, to which the learned of our own and other countries have been much indebted. And, then, *Joseph Mede* produced his *Sermons and Commentaries*, abounding with Hebrew disquisitions, by which some of the ablest divines of modern times have signally profited.<sup>c</sup> To *William Eyre*, or *Eyres*, afterwards a prebendary of Ely, who at the beginning of this reign meditated a<sup>d</sup> kind of Polyglot Bible, Dr.

<sup>a</sup> *Life of Gataker*, 4to. 1656, p. 44.

<sup>b</sup> See his *Critica Opera*, fol. 1698.

<sup>c</sup> Letter from Eyre to Usher, dat. 9. Kal. April, 1607. He speaks first of "quotidiana expectatio *Liveleanæ Commentationis de authenticâ Scripturarum Editione*: Hanc frustra adhuc expectavimus, &c." He then fully details the plan of an Edition, to which he proposes to subjoin two Appendixes; the first to contain, "1. De characterum Hebraicorum, qui hodie in usu sunt, origine et antiquitate. 2. De Masoreticis et Rabbincis Notis in Bibliis Hebraicis; de 28 Perigmoth, deque librorum et capitum variis distinctionibus; et id genus aliis, et quid illis tribuendum sit. 3. De Chaldaica Paraphrasi, deque Arabica et Syriaca, necnon

Walton often refers with great confidence : he was the correspondent of Usher, and profoundly skilled in Hebrew. The accurate biographer of Oxford-men has preserved the memory of several Hebricians, at the same period, less known to fame. But I hasten to more distinguished contemporaries of Dr. Walton ; reserving a fuller account of such as were associated with him, in the production of the Polyglot, for the chapter which closes these Memoirs.

We shall find not many among the contemporaries of Dr. Walton, or among his assistants in the Polyglot, who did not acquire their Oriental learning in the age of James the first. Of the

de aliis Veterum et Neotericorum Versionibus, quarum in propositionibus non fit mentio, et quid illis tribuendum sit. 4. De castigatissimis Bibliorum Hebr. Veteris Instrumenti, et Græc. Novi Testamenti, Exemplaribus." Together with " Index et Collatio Variarum Lectionum per singulos Scripturæ libros et librorum capita, una cum eorundem censura, juxta ordinem particularium locorum ; præsertim ubi fontium paritas quibusdam suspecta videtur, vel incuria librariorum aut criticorum temeritate periculum sit ne corrumpatur." He then gives, as a specimen, a collection of Various Readings in the Psalms, from Manuscripts and printed Copies. The second Appendix was to contain " Tabulæ Varietarum inter Orientales et Occidentales Judæos, &c." The whole letter is of great critical value. He refers in it to *Bedwell*, our Translator, as well as to *Ambrose Usher*, the brother of the archbishop, in mentioning Arabic ; both of them being masters of that tongue.

contemporaries, Dr. John Pridaux, who died bishop of Worcester, may be justly called the principal; a man, to whom foreigners came from all parts of Europe for his instruction, and to whose authority Dr. Walton often appeals, in the vindication of his Polyglot, on the nicer points of Hebrew criticism. Next to him we place Dr. Gerard Langbaine, an excellent linguist, a lover of learning and learned men; and, in the quaint but forcible words of Wood, beloved of Usher, Selden, and the great Goliaths of literature. Of similar rank was John Gregory, called the "miracle of his age for critical and curious learning; having attained to a learned elegance in English, Latin, and Greek, and to an exact skill in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic, and Ethiopic. At this time also Dr. <sup>1</sup> Peter Turner, a physician, the friend of Archbishop Laud, was greatly distinguished for his knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic; and was the patron of John Greaves, in

<sup>1</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

<sup>2</sup> His Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture abound with proofs of this assertion. See the 4th edit. of his Works, 4to. 1684. His very curious and valuable Posthuma were published in 1650, to which a short account of his Life is prefixed, with verses subjoined, in one copy of which, "diversity of tongues" is called "his portion."

<sup>3</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox. and Ward's Gresham Prof.

introducing him to Laud, by whom he was sent into the East, for the purpose of procuring books and manuscripts. This Mr. *Greaves* was the brother of him, whom we shall find one of Dr. Walton's most valuable coadjutors ; and was himself a very accomplished Persic and Arabic scholar. Another prodigy of this time, for philological and Oriental learning, was <sup>k</sup> *Henry Jacob* ; a pupil of Erpenius, under whom he is said to have profited beyond other students, as well as beyond the measure of his age.

But of these not one, except *Langbaine*, survived the year in which the Polyglot was proposed ; nor did he live to witness the completion of it. If any one should now require further proof of the cultivation of sacred literature, within the period we have been considering, I could direct his attention to many single Sermons, which then were published, of no ordinary character as to Oriental learning ; and could refer him to additional encouragement, given to such study, in the liberal foundation of additional Eastern lectures, and in the diligent procurement of Eastern books. To him also, who would wish to bring before his eyes many of the scholars, of whom Dr. Walton has spoken as excelling, when he wrote the defence of his Polyglot, in knowledge of the

<sup>k</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox.



tongues, I may commend the second part of the *Athenæ Oxonienses*; in which he will meet not only with numerous masters, but sometimes with directions in the enumeration of their works, to means which may facilitate the like studies.

Our Universities thus confute the slander, and our unlearned countrymen may thus be guarded against the evil tendency, of a very rash assertion, *that there was not a critical Hebrew scholar among our Translators of the Bible; the Hebrew language, so indispensably necessary for the accomplishment of this important work, having been, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the first, most shamefully neglected in our Universities; with an unblushing prefix also to the assertion, that it was well known!* Well known, indeed! when the testimony of such a man as Dr. Walton, not to name a variety of equal weight which might be brought in favour of it, has exhibited the Translation as defying the censure of a profound Hebrician, contemporary with the Translators; and when the memory of those learned men, instead of falling, has risen in the estimation of every one who is truly acquainted with Oriental learning.

Nor have later Translations of the Original

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. John Bellamy's General Preface to what he vainly offers as a Translation of the Holy Bible, 1818.

Text, even by most distinguished critics, convinced us, that the authorized Version has been exceeded in general accuracy and fidelity. Bishop Lowth indeed has said, that the Scriptures might be placed in a more advantageous and just light; and Archbishop Newcome asserted, that the Hebrew prophets are not yet seen in their best garb. But the emendations, made by the former, with "unbridled boldness and temerity," in his Translation of Isaiah, critics of great discernment, abroad and at home, have duly noticed. And to the new Version only of Hosea, by the latter, another learned prelate has opposed, in very many instances, his critical corrections. On which of their texts could we rely, when critics of such eminence wholly or widely differ? Nor are these the only men of highest attainments, in modern times, who might be shewn at variance upon the same passages of Scripture. Even the notification which that accomplished scholar, Bishop Lowth, has made, in

<sup>m</sup> See Remarks upon the Critical Principles and the practical Application of those Principles, adopted by writers, who have at various periods recommended a New Translation of the Bible as expedient and necessary. Oxford, 1820. p. 75.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 76. et seq. where the learned author also notices at large the direct attacks made upon it by foreign writers.

<sup>o</sup> Bishop Horsley.

regard to his Translation, cannot but awaken some fear of danger from conjectural emendation: "The Translation here offered will perhaps be found to be in general as close to the text, and as literal, as our English Version. When it departs at all from the Hebrew text on account of some correction, which I suppose to be requisite, I give notice to the reader of such correction, and offer my reasons for it." Nor is the fear of such corrections imaginary. For we learn that "the critical world now seems united in condemning the greatest portion of his textual emendations as either unnecessary, injudicious, or erroneous!" The exactness of our authorized Translators Lowth has certainly taken occasion to commend; as where he says, "Our Translators have taken the liberty of using the word *threshing* in a passive sense, to express the object or matter that is threshed; in which I have followed them, not being able to express it more properly, without departing too much from the form and letter of the Original." And of their Translation a revision or correction he seems to have thought

\* Preliminary Dissertation to the Translation of Isaiah.

† Remarks upon the Critical Principles, &c. ut supr. p. 86.

"On the subject of *conjectural emendations* Michaelis and Lowth did not agree." Bp. Marsh's Div. Lect. P. II. p. 131.

‡ Notes on Isaiah, ch. xxi. ver. 10.

“ ‘ more advisable, than to attempt an entirely new one.” He has also paid homage to the modesty, as well as the skill, of these hitherto unrivalled scholars, in adorning his new Translation of Isaiah with the very letter, or the spirit, of about one hundred and fifty of their marginal readings. In vain, however, has he endeavoured to improve their simple but forcible language. What lover of our pure and undefiled English, but turns away from the ‘ *vestibule*, and the ‘ *cincture* ; from ‘ *pyre*, and ‘ *magazines*, and ‘ *inanity*, and ‘ *aqueducts* ; and refreshes himself with the old words, which are misunderstood by none, and which retain with their legitimacy an air of sanctity ! What reader but is amazed at “ ‘ an inundation of camels,” yet expresses no surprise at the description of “ ‘ a multitude of them !” I have presumed to say thus much, because some, hastily relying upon the authority of Lowth as

• Prelim. Dissert. ut supr.

• Our authorized Version, “ the posts of the door,” Is. vi. 4.

• Ib. “ girdle.” Is. xi. 5.

• Ib. “ pile,” Is. xxx. 33.

• Ib. “ the house of his precious things,” Is. xxxix. 2.

• Ib. “ vanity,” Is. xl. 23.

• Ib. “ water-courses,” Is. xlv. 4.

• Lowth’s Translation, Is. lx. 6.

• Our authorized Version, *ibid.*

absolute and indisputable in respect to the Translation, (as indeed indisputable and absolute it is in other branches both of elegant and recondite learning,) have vauntingly affixed his name to very idle *Reasons in favour of a new Translation of the Holy Scriptures*; and because we are thus reminded, with great force, of Dr. Walton, a scholar in this respect perhaps superior to him, finding no cause even for the 'revision of a Version so famous, and, generally speaking, so correct.

\* By Sir James Bland Burges, bart. 1819.

† Upon this important subject most worthy of regard and respect are the following observations; which derive additional weight from the author of them, as it is believed, being a public Professor of Hebrew. "Specimens of supposed improvements [in the authorized Translation] have been long abroad; but have these proved satisfactory in themselves, particularly as to their general result, or have they challenged universal concurrence? Might not another race of more scrupulous critics arise, who, contemplating the licentious innovations of their predecessors with equal astonishment and disapprobation, might choose again to adopt a more sober line of criticism, and make it necessary to undo much, if not all, of that which had been so recently done? Other reflections, I doubt not, suggested themselves *to prevent the prudent hand of power from intermeddling in an enterprise, where the object in view seemed not worthy the perplexity and danger of the pursuit; where there was much to lose, but little to gain.* Howsoever that might have been, we

may certainly conclude, that no trivial motives could have occasioned the total rejection of a \* proposal so earnestly pressed upon the attention of government by men of high character, rank, and talent, [Lowth, Kennicott, Newcome, Durell, and Blayney.] Indeed the plain policy of the question must have been always something more than problematical; for surely were the project adopted of revising a Translation of the Bible, the general excellence of which is on all sides admitted, and to which the nation has been accustomed for full two centuries past to look up with veneration, not solely for the purpose of verbal corrections, but also for the purpose of introducing in some places novel senses, in other senses diametrically opposite to the former, and that without the possibility of explaining to the common reader the principles of the change; MIGHT NOT SUCH A PROCEEDING SHAKE THE VERY FOUNDATION OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE ALTOGETHER?" Remarks upon the Critical Principles, &c. ut supr. p. 54, 55.

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\* The learned writer, just before, has alluded to the author of an Essay for a New Translation of the Bible, first published in 1702, as an encourager of this proposal, whom he calls *anonymous*. It may be proper here to shew this person in his true form and colour. He signs his dedication of the Essay to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, with the initials H. R. His name was Hugh Ross. The Essay is little more than a translation of Le Cene's *Projet d'une Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible*, applying, what he had said of antiquated French Translations, to our received Version: but without acknowledgment of the criticism and learning borrowed from it. The man, who was guilty of this disingenuous plagiarism, is also said to have understood little of languages, besides Latin and French. See Lewis's Hist. of Eng. Transl. of the Bible, 2d edit. p. 338, 339.

## CHAPTER IV.

*From the Restoration till the Death of Dr. Walton.*

WE now behold Dr. Walton rewarded for his sufferings, his patience, his perseverance, his learning, and his loyalty, with a bishopric ; not without being first restored to the preferments, of which he had been dispossessed in the great Rebellion. But very brief, alas ! shall we find the interval between the attainment of this honour and his death. He was consecrated bishop of Chester, in Westminster Abbey, \* December 2, 1660.

In March following he was ' appointed one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference, at which he has been \* reported as attending not more than once or twice ; and as then making no other observations than those of charging Richard Baxter with using uncharitable words, from which

\* *Le Neve, Fasti Ecel. Angl.* p. 342.

' See the Commission prefixed to an Account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Persuasions, appointed by his sacred Majesty, according to Letters Patent, for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer, &c. 4to. 1661.

\* Baxter's History of his Life and Times, fol. P. II. p. 304.

Baxter vindicated himself ; and of bearing witness to the assertion of the same person, “<sup>h</sup> that he had publicly written against the silencing or displacing any worthy man for being against the Parliament.” This we gather from Baxter’s narrative of what part each of the Commissioners, on the side of the Church of England, acted in this Conference. Besides the ingenuous conduct of bishop Walton, Baxter details some pleasing circumstances of other episcopal Commissioners. But none are more curious than those which respect the bishops, whom he supposed to be his friends : “<sup>i</sup> Bishop *Gauden*,” says this champion of the Presbyterians, “was *our* most constant helper. He, and bishop <sup>k</sup> *Cosin*, seldom were absent. And how <sup>l</sup> bitter soever his [*Gauden’s*] pen be,

<sup>h</sup> Baxter’s History of his Life and Times, p. 340.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid, p. 363. Dr. Gauden was at time bishop of Exeter.

<sup>k</sup> Bishop of Durham.

<sup>l</sup> Baxter evidently alludes to the Considerations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England, in reference to his Majesty’s late gracious Declaration, and in order to a happy Union in Church and State. By J. Gauden, D. D. and Lord Bishop Elect of Exeter. “For any worthy ministers,” he says, “and sober people to be more restive now, and averse from the use of the Liturgy at all, because of his Majesty’s clemency, is a most unexcuseable moroseness ; especially when they heretofore did use it, and are still satisfied in their consciences of the lawfulness and expediency



he was the *only* moderator of all the bishops,

of it; yea, and they were disposed to have used it immediately before the Declaration came out, in case they had been required to it according to laws in force, rather than for default to have been punished. For these men to have evil eyes against the Liturgy, because the king hath a compassionate eye to some mens infirmity; for them still to foment the anti-liturgical humour of some men; and, instead of closing those wounds into which the king's charity poureth balm, to rip and tear them up, or to widen and exasperate them; is such a part of peevishness and ingratitude, that it looks too like schismatical petulancy and pride; from which dross it is high time to have all our hearts purged, after so long trial in God's fiery furnace. To be sure, the very appearance, and shew, of such a frowardness doth not become any good Protestant, or worthy minister, who hath no greater objection against our Liturgy than this; that he fancies he could in some words or phrases mend it, or put some *alisses* to it and additions, which may be infinite!—Least of all excusable are those ministers, who, out of a little point of reputation among some people, (rather weak than wise, and to be pitied more than imitated,) do still sacrifice their judgments (that I say not their consciences) to their credits; and out of a fear or lothness to offend some people, (whom they might easily convince and satisfy, as well by their examples, as by their arguments,) they make no conscience to deprive not only the publick of peace, but the people, and themselves as ministers, of the benefit of the Liturgy, when possibly they most stand in need of it; either to help their frequent infirmities, or to restrain their popular and desultory levity, or lastly to set bounds of discretion, decency, charity, and piety, to their extravagances, even in publick solemn devo-

(except our bishop "Reynolds :) He showed no logic, nor meddled in any dispute or point of learning; but a calm, fluent, rhetorical tongue; and if all had been of his mind, we had been reconciled."

Upon so remarkable a fellow-commissioner with bishop Walton, thus recalled to memory, and thus characterized, I may be permitted to bestow a few pages, in illustration of his claim to the composition of those celebrated Meditations of king Charles the first, entitled ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ:

tion and sacramental celebrations." pp. 4, 5, 6. Again, "The Liturgy very potently and fully vindicates the pristine honour, and catholick use, of Infant Baptism, against the anabaptistical novelty and catabaptistical perverseness. Nor is there any cause, in that baptismal part of our English Liturgy, to quarrel with that evangelical and charitable persuasion, so oft expressed, touching baptismal Regeneration; which all pious antiquity, and the most reformed Churches, do assent to, joining the Water and Spirit together, and calling Baptism *the lever of Regeneration*, Tit. iii. 5, without limitation to any; as Circumcision was the seal of God's covenant to all the children of Israel," pp. 12, 13. He afterwards speaks of a discreet review of the Liturgy, but decides, "that the Liturgy of the Church of England, as to the main and essentials of it in doctrine, devotion, consecration, and celebration, for matter, order, and method, may in no case be maimed, rudely changed, or oddly deformed," p. 23. Baxter seems, in the plenitude of his mistaken assurance throughout this business, not to have formed a correct opinion of this prelate.

"Bishop of Norwich.

because his claim, it has been pretended, is abundantly disproved by external and internal evidence; because such opinion is not yet extinct; and because the following information, which at once decides the controversy that has been long maintained upon the subject, is from his own pen. It is thus unfolded, in letters to the Earl of Bristol, which are preserved in the library at Lambeth Palace.

“ Most noble Lord,

“ I was infinitely surprised yesterday in the Prince's lodgings both with the admiration of your knowledge of that great arcanum, and with the most generous expressions of your Lordps esteeme and favour for me: In both which I doe the more rejoyce, because they have given me an oportunity to bee knowne, under a character not ordinary, to a person, whom, of all men living, I have, at my distance, esteemed one of the most accomplished by nature, education, experience, and generous actions. Nor doe I find hym (as I have two other persons) looking with any oblique or envious eye upon that, which was the effect of a just and generous loyalty.

“ Lambeth MSS. No. 920. art. 147. Superscribed,  
“ These to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earle of Bristol.”

"I cannot imagine what key your Lord<sup>sh</sup> hath to this cabinet, unlesse the King or royall Duke have lent you theirs: Nor am I curious to enquire; because I know it °dwels with a very valiant and loyal brest, as well as with a most eloquent tounge, which only speakes those things which are worthy of it. Yf I may have the favour, at your best leisure, to waite on your Lord<sup>sh</sup>, I shall more amply tel you how much I have of gratitude and honor for you, whose eminent lustre hath condescended to owne hym, whom some men have banished to soe great an obscurity, as is much relieved by this confidence you have given me to write my selfe,

"My Lord,

"Your most humble servant,

"*Jo: Exon.*

"*March 20, 1661.*"

• In another letter, upon a different subject, the bishop finds occasion thus to hint again at the secrecy to be observed by the Earl: "I earnestly beg the further favour of that privacy, as may preserve my papers *only in your owne loyall and learned brest.*" Dat. Jul. 9, 1662. Lamb. MSS. No. 930. art. 170. And in a letter of the bishop's wife to this nobleman, when she was a widow, she says: "He did also before his departure tell me, *that your Lordship was privy to that which the world is so perfectly ignorant of.*" Lamb. MSS. No. 930. art. 173.

“ My Lord,

“ The venerable Bishop of Winchester hath this morning (March 26) left all humane affaires. How farre your noblenes shall see fit to make use of the occasion, I leave to your great wisdom. It seems a good omen of Providence, that my concernes should bee credited to soe generous a brest, and soe potent a speaker; who knowing all the principles of ingenuity, gratitude, justice, and honor, are most able to give them their due weight and vigor; impatient of any degeneration from them. Besides this, your Lordship's soe unwonted favour, expressed to mee with most signall emphasis, gives me assurances, that however the honor of my being known to your Lordship is new and recent, yet I may, without any immodesty, expect those mature fruits, which usually grow from most noble minds and princely affections. I cannot but bee confident, that hys Majesty will doe what is worthy of hys father's glory and hys own greatnes; nor could I wish a more effectual intercessor than your Lordship, in whom are all those completions which advance men to the love and high esteeme of the better world. I beg your Lordship's pardon for

“ Lambeth MSS. No. 930. art. 169. Superscribed,  
“ These present to the Right Hon.<sup>ble</sup> the Earle of Bristol  
at hys house in Queenes Streete, w<sup>th</sup> speed.”

the freedome of these lines ; and beseech you not to proportion your future favours to my defeats, (yf they must be soe.) This I am sure, whatever the reward bee, *Not man can rob mee of the honor of the work.* Upon which account, I know your Lordship cannot but have a convenient regard for

“ Your Lordship’s most humble servant,

*John. Eli.*”

“ *March 26, 1662.*

“ *Gresh. Coll.*

“ ‘ Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> and most noble Lord,

“ As I am most confident of hys Ma<sup>ty</sup> gracious favour, oft confirmed to me by hys royall word and promise, soe I shall in all things endeavour to acquiesce in hys good pleasure ; nor shall of eyther despaire or doubt, till contrary effects confute me to a most unwelcome dejection. I confesse I thought my selfe somewhat redeemed, beyond other men, from court solicitations, by his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and hys H<sup>ch</sup> being conscious to my most signall service ; which I well know is to bee kept secret, as only fit for royall and noble breasts. Nor could I prudently expect, upon that account

\* Lambeth MSS. No. 886, art. 106. Superscribed, “ *Thence to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earle of Bristol present, Queenes Streete.*”

only, any extraordinary instance of hys Maj<sup>ty</sup> favour, without putting the world upon a dangerous curiosity, yf in other respects I had been unconspicuous; which I thank God I was not, but sufficiently knowne to all the English world by those many great and publique works I had done, in my spheare, to the hazard of my estate, liberty, and life, in order to preserve and restore the just interests of the church and crown in the worst of times and things. One instance of which I herewith send your Lordship, which perhaps you have not seene; by which I did not only perstringe, but openly affront, the Army in their greatest insolvency. Both enemies and friends saw me alwayes standing in the gap, with a bold and diligent loyalty, doing my duty by preaching, printing, and acting, to the great vexation and confusion of those tyrants and usurpers.

“ Soe that my confidence of hys Majesties speciall favour is not only built on that hidden foundation, but on many other open and ample superstructures; such as is my *Hieraspistes*, or *Defence of the Clergy*; alsoe my *ἱερὰ Ἀδυναμία*, *The Tears of the Church of England*; besides many other lesser Tracts, and parvasinasticke Sermons before General Monck and the City; alsoe before the Parliament restored to liberty. And these in the very paradoxes or criticall points of the Eng-

lish affaires; sufficient, I think, yf weighed impartially, to justify any degree of preferment, without the least amazing or offending the better world; whose wonder it hath beene, as well as my trouble, to see my selfe hitherto exposed to soe incompetent and inconvenient a condition; which looks soe like a banishment, more than preferment; a great work, with small reward; never sought by any indiscreet ambition of mine; noe, I am not so meere a schollar; but imposed upon me by the importunities of those, who urged me at the King's will and command; thereby drawing me, much against my genie, from a very happy privacy, to a conspicuity attended with toile and tennity, which are next neighbours to contempt.

“ These considerations I am bold to offer to your Lordship, not out of any vapour or ostentation, but only to demonstrate, that both his Majestie's and your Lordship's extraordinary favour may, without any solecism of state, bee grounded on the publique services I have done, besides that private one, which is consecrated to the highest merit, reputation, and honor in the world; as the *urne of royall ashes*, and the *embalming of a martyred King*. And since I have lived to see the happy influence and glorious effects of all my perils, prayers, and labours; in the Restauration



of Church, King, and Kingdome, I cannot be-  
lieve, that hys Majestie will make my fortunes  
the only confutation and defeate of all that I have  
done, in those times, when there was noe reward  
but the conscience of well doing.

“ I have beene on all hands, by his Majestie,  
the Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, and the  
Bishop of London, assured of a remove to a more  
easy station, upon the first faire opportunity;  
such as this of Winchester now is; there being  
nothing more proportionable to hys Majesties  
greatness, or hys father's glory; nor can it be  
much too big for mee, yf it fits any other men,  
whom I cannot think giants, or my selfe a pyg-  
mey. This I am sure; whoever hath the *tulit*.  
*alter honores*, I may challenge, *Hos ego versi-*  
*culos feci*; and the world thought them heroick,  
worthy of Augustus: However, noe latency of  
my services should in justice or ingenuity bee any  
prejudice against me, among those few, who are  
both conscious to the merit, and now enjoy the  
fruits of them. These men, I am sure, may well  
bee without envy; and they will bee without apo-  
logy, yf they sin against ingenuity and their owne  
words.

“ But, my Lord, I see that noe desert is suffi-  
cient to redeeme men from those difficulties which  
attend humane affaires, especially when agitated

in Princes' Courts. I am much more apt to serve others, than to sollicite for myselfe; nor shall I be much guilty of that defect, yf I may be happy in your Lordship's favour, as I have beene, expressing to hys Majestie, as occasion may offer it selfe, that regard you are pleased to have, beyond any particular desert of mine, for

" Your Lordship's

" Most humble and thankfull servant,

" *Jo: Ex.*"

" *March 27.*"

" My most noble Lord,

" The addresse of this is only to enquire of your Lordship's health, for which I am very solicitous, not more for my private than the publique concernes. I am happy in your particular favour, and all worthy persons in the nobleness of your example, which is adorned with all civil and generous accomplishments. When I have payd this respect to your Lordship's health, I am further a debtor to your Lordship for your last very noble and kind letter, expressing soe great a zeale for my interest. What ever the event of my affaires may bee, I shall always live of hope

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth MSS. No. 980. art. 168. Superscribed, " These to the R. H.<sup>tie</sup> the Earle of Bristol in Queenes Street put."

above envy, and bee capable soe to assert myself, that I shall appeare a person not to be despised. Besides I have now a new ambition, to doe all things worthy of the great favour and esteeme your Lordship is pleased to put upon mee. Certainly, my Lord, since I have done one work of some importance, which hath the proportions of a coate not petit and narrow, I shall not easily shrink to any thing that is meane and vulgar. Yf I have not the favour of those from whom I have merited, I shall of hym, from whome noe man can properly merit. I suppose things are already concluded against mee at Court; possibly there will bee such a preterition, as neither Winchester, nor Worcester, nor the Lord Almoner's place, will bee bestowed upon mee: Yet I shall ever remaine,

"Your Lordship's

"Most humble and thankfull servant,

*Joh. Ex."*

*"Easter Monday.*

From this important historical digression, I return to Bishop Walton, who, in the September following the Savoy Conference, set out from London on his primary visit to Chester. His reception there, and on his journey, has been re-

\* Worcester was bestowed on him.

corded in the following interesting narrative, dated at Chester, September 14, 1661.

“ The only news we have here is the gallant reception of our learned Bishop, Dr. Brian Walton, into his Diocese of Chester. On Tuesday the third Inst. his Lordship left London, and the Saturday following, (September 7,) when he came within six miles of Lichfield, some persons of very good worth met him, who came purposely from this City of Chester, above fifty miles from that place.

“ The next day, being Sunday, he rested at Lichfield, where his Lordship, and all we that were with him, went to the Chapter House, there to pay to God Almighty the duty of the day. I need not tell you the condition of that Cathedral by the iniquity of the late times, though the Minister is not (all things considered) so much wanted, as some reverend prudent man, whose experience in the Church may best take care of those two Counties of Warwick and Stafford, a very considerable part of the Church of England.

“ Next morning, (Monday, September 9,) his

<sup>1</sup> Collection of Tracts, published at Chester, by John Poole, 2 vols. 8vo. 1778. “ An Account of the Reception of the first Bishop, who was appointed to the See of Chester, after the Restoration, extracted from *The Kingdom's Intelligence*, a paper now extremely scarce.” Collect. p. 982.

Lordship went to Stone, but in the midway, betwixt Lichfield and that town, he was met by more persons of quality, who also came from Chester; and next day almost all the Gentry of the whole County, and the Militia both of the County and City came out to meet him. Five troops of Horse met him at Namptwich upon Tuesday night; the day following, the Spiritual Militia, the true sons of the Church of England, came to their reverend Diocesan upon the road.

“ The Militia of the City received him at the confines of their liberties with much gladness; and, with many of the Aldermen, conducted him into the town; which he no sooner entered, but many thousands of the people, blessing God for so happy a sight, made many and loud acclamations. Having thus brought him to his Palace, they there saluted him in the language of soldiers with several volleys of shot.

“ As soon as he had put on his episcopal robes, he hasted to the performance of his devotions in the Choir. When he entered the body of the

• See also Ormerod's elaborate and most interesting *History of Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 210. “ The trained bands of the city were drawn up along the Foregate-street; and at the bars the Mayor and Corporation, in their formalities, received their new Bishop, and walked before him to the palace, amidst the acclamations of the people, expressing the greatest joy at the restoration of episcopacy.

Church, the Dean (doctor Henry Bridgeman; brother of the Lord Chief Justice Bridgeman,) and all the members of the Cathedral, habited in their Albes, receiving a blessing from his Lordship, sung the Te Deum; and so compassing the Choir in manner of a procession conveyed him to his chair. After the solemnity was ended with his Lordship pronouncing a benediction, they all waited on him back to his Palace, and committed him to his rest.

“ The next day the generous Dean gave a noble entertainment to his Lordship and his family, and all the officers and gentry; where with much cheerfulness, and great resolution, they professed their affection to the maintenance of Episcopal Government.”

It is no wonder that the inhabitants of Cheshire thus testified their joy; since among the many petitions in behalf of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, when the extinction of both was first threatened, none breathed a warmer attachment to the true Church of England, none displayed a more numerous association of wealth and independence in support of it, than this County. Of their respect for the Liturgy, connected as it is both with the melancholy days which Dr. Walton had witnessed, and with the principal subject proposed at the Savoy Conference, I here submit the memorial to the reader.

“ The Cheshire Petition for establishing of the Common-Prayer Book, and suppression of schismatics, presented to the King's Majesty, and from him recommended to the House of Peers by the Lord Keeper.

“ To the King's most excellent Majesty, and to the right honourable the Lords, and the honourable the House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

“ The humble Petition of divers of the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the County Palatine of Chester, whose names are nominated in the schedule annexed.

“ Your Petitioners, with all cheerfulness and contentation, affying in the happy settlement of the distractions both of Church and State by his Majesty's pious care, and the prudent endeavours

“ A Collection of Sundry Petitions, &c. Published by his Majesty's special command, 1642, p. 21. The petition from the same county, in behalf of episcopacy, was presented by Sir Thomas Aston, and signed by four noblemen, upwards of eighty knight-baronets, knights, and esquires, seventy divines, more than three hundred gentlemen, and above six thousand freeholders, and other inhabitants of the same county. *Ibid.* p. 1. The petition, which I have copied, is accompanied by those of several other counties. It was also circulated, in a smaller form, in 1642, with the petitions only of Cornwall, and of the six shires of North Wales.

of this honourable Assembly ; and with due humility, and obedience, submitting to the unanimous conclusions thereof ; yet conceive themselves bound in duty humbly to represent, to your mature considerations, that the present disorders of many turbulent and ill-disposed spirits are such, as give not only occasion of present discontent to your Petitioners, but seem to import some ill event without early prevention : the pure seed of our faith, the doctrine of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, established by so many Acts of Parliament, and so harmoniously concurring with the Confessions of all other Reformed Churches, being tainted with the tares of divers sects and schismes lately sprung up among us.

“ Our pious, laudable, and ancient forme of Divine Service, composed by the holy martyrs and worthy instruments of Reformation ; established by the prudent sages of State, your religious predecessours ; honoured by the approbation of many learned foreign divines ; subscribed by the Ministry of the whole kingdom ; and with such general content received by all the Laity, that scarce any family or person that can read, but are furnished with the Books of Common Prayer ; in the conscionable use whereof many hearts have found unspeakable joy and comfort, wherein the famous Church of England, our deare mother, hath just cause to glory ; and may



she long flourish in the practice of so blessed a Liturgy : yet it is now not only depraved by many of those, who should teach conformity to established laws ; but, in contempt thereof, in many places wholly neglected. All these daily practised, with confidence, without punishment ; to the great dejection of many sound Protestants ; and occasioning so great insultation and rejoycing in some separatists, as they not only seem to portend, but menace, some great alteration ; and, not containing themselves within the bounds of civil government, do commit many tumultuous, if not sacrilegious, violences both by day and night upon divers Churches.

“ Therefore your Petitioners being all very apprehensive of the dangerous consequences of innovation, and much scandalized at the present disorders, do all unanimously pray, that there be admitted no innovation of Doctrine or Liturgy ; that holy public service being so fast rooted by a long settled continuance in this Church, that in our opinion and judgments it cannot be altered, unless by the advice and consent of some national synod, without an universal discontent : and that some speedy course be taken to suppress such schismatics, and separatists, whose factious spirits do evidently endanger the peace both of Church and State.

“ And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c. ”

|                                                                                    |   |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|--------|
| " The Petition signed by Lords,<br>Knights, Justices of the Peace,<br>and Esquires | } | 94     |
| " By Gentlemen of quality                                                          |   |        |
| " By Divines                                                                       |   | 86     |
| " By Freeholders, and others, in all                                               |   | 8936." |

Of the schismatics and separatists, noticed in this Petition, there were some remaining at the time of Bishop Walton's arrival at Chester, who pronounced every little accident, which befel the members of the Church of England, as especial judgments inflicted upon them from heaven. This was now \* common. In a book, published in 1660, professing to be a "true relation of some late various and wonderful judgments, &c." the author shrewdly adds, "*for what causes let the man of wisdom judge, upon his serious perusal of the book itself!*" Then he descants upon "the strange changes and late alterations made in these three nations, as also upon the odious sin of drinking healths!" Of his judgments these are examples, in his first chapter: "The first man that read prayers in this University [Oxford] since this change, the Lord hath cut him off.—Also there was a play acted by scholars: he

\* See Bishop Parker's History of his own Time, &c. English edition, p. 23.

† *Kennet's Register*, p. 242.

that acted *the Old Puritan* broke a vein, and they thought he would have died in the room; but he now lieth desperately sick."

The reader, therefore, will not be surprised at the following remarks, in Burghall's "' Providence Improved," respecting Bishop Walton and his attendants.

" Some remarkable passages happened in the coming down of Bishop Walton to Chester, and while he was there.

" 1st. His Coach was overturned, and his wife's face sorely hurt by falling out of it.

" 2ndly. The troops of Horse that came to meet him, (Sir George Booth's and Philip Eger-ton's,) fell at odds on Filton Heath, about precedence, and were ready for blows.

" 3dly. Coming through Tarporley, and the bells ringing for him, a man was almost killed with the stroke of a bell.

" 4thly. Captain Cholmondeley's wife, going to visit him with a present, fell and broke her arms.

" 5thly. A man coming to Chester to congratulate him, and to complain of somebody, fell down before him, and died; which much amazed and frightened him.

' Published in a Collection of Tracts, &c. printed by Poole, at Chester, 1778, vol. ii. p. 947.

“6thly. Dr. Winter, a pious and learned man, being silenced by him, told him to his face he would have no comfort for so doing, when he must appear before Christ, which was not long after.

“Within a while his Chaplain, Mr. Lightfoot, died also.”

The last public act of Bishop Walton, in his official situation, seems to have been his <sup>a</sup> concurrence with the archbishop and the two other bishops of the province of York, in a letter to the Clergy, upon the settlement of the Liturgy. For the Episcopal Commissioners at the Savoy Conference having effected no alteration in the extravagant demands of those on the Presbyterian side, and having heard the Liturgy reviled as incapable of amendment, proposed some alterations to the Clergy only, which brought it to the state in which it now stands. Lord Clarendon has <sup>a</sup> represented the bishops, as having spent the vacation of this year in making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, as they thought would render it more grateful to the *dissenting brethren*; (for so the schismatical party called themselves;) yet not as unanimous

<sup>a</sup> Kennet's Register, p. 564.

<sup>a</sup> Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, 8vo. edition, vol. ii. p. 278.

upon this great point. Some of them, he says, who had greatest experience and were in truth wise men, thought it best to restore and confirm the old Book of Common Prayer, without any alterations and additions. Others, equally grave, of great learning and unblemished reputation, pressed earnestly both for the alterations and additions. His lordship has considered the opinion of the former as the more prudent. However the alterations were of necessity first to be submitted to the whole Clergy in Convocation, who agreed to them on the 20th of December, 1661, having been summoned to attendance upon this business late in the preceding month. To the distinct opinion of Bishop Walton, upon this occasion, there is no remaining reference. Nor did he probably attend a single consultation. The letter which accompanied the public notice to the Clergy, bearing the signature of himself and his episcopal brethren, is dated <sup>b</sup> November 23rd and before the close of that month he was no more.

We have no other account of this great loss, than that the Bishop, after his return from Chester to London, <sup>c</sup> fell sick, and died on the 29th of November, 1661, at his house in Aldersgate

<sup>b</sup> Kennet's Register, p. 564.

<sup>c</sup> A. Wood, Kennet, and Biograph, Brit.

Street. On the 5th of December, following, he was interred in the south aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral, opposite to the monument of Lord Chancellor Hatton. The corpse was followed to the grave by the 'Earls of Derby and Bridge-water, and many more of the nobility; by the greater part of the Bishops in their rochets; by deans and prebendaries of several cathedrals; and by a multitude of the most learned clergymen in England; proceeding from Sadlers' Hall, in Cheapside. The ceremony was marshalled and directed by George Owen, Esq. York herald; Elias Ashmole, Esq. Windsor herald, and Henry St. George, Esq. Richmond herald. The funeral service was read by the Bishop of London. Over his grave a noble monument was soon afterwards placed, which in no respect detailed a flattery. It bade the reader to look for no other epitaph upon the Bishop than his name; and to consult not the marble but his reputation; of which, indeed, if there could be any ignorant of it, these were the records; that it was he who, among the first, 'aided the Church of England,

<sup>a</sup> Twells's Life of Pocock, §. 3. See also Bliss's very valuable Additions to Wood's Fasti Oxon. sub. an. 1645.

<sup>b</sup> His own fine avowal, alluding to the evil days and evil tongues on which he was fallen, when employed in behalf of the Church of England, must not here be overpassed, "Sic

while groaning under the tyranny of the usurpation; who removed the scandalous aspersions cast upon the Clergy, while trampled upon by the rebellious and profane rabble; who brought honour to the Reformed Religion professed among us, while carrying on and completing, in spite of the most malicious opposition, the Polyglot Bible. The whole inscription was as follows :

‘ *Manet heic novissimam Resurrectionis Angelî tubam*

*BRIANUS WALTONUS,*

*Cestriensis Episcopus.*

*Epitaphium aliud ne quæras Viator,*

*Cui luculentum est vel ipsum nomen Epitaphium;*

*Quod si explicatus velis,*

*Famam consule non tumulum,*

---

*bona pro malis rependendo, Patris cœlestis filios nosmet probare studemus, et Magistri summi discipulos, necnon Ecclesie Anglicanæ, utut jam despiciatæ, monumentum perenne erigere, in omne ævum duraturum, quo omnibus pateat eam, cùm maximis angustiis premeretur, oraculorum divinorum et animarum curam non deposuisse, nec defuisse inter ejus filios qui, etiam afflictæ et aequalitatis, rû usque et vîræ æquæ habeantur, ejus auspiciis opus, quo orbi Christiano utilius, post canonem SS. Scripturæ consignatum nullum vulgatum (absit invidia verbo) elaborarunt.”* Præf. in Bib. Polyglott.

‘ *Lloyd’s Mem.* It is very incorrectly printed, say the authors of the *Biographia Britannica*, in the *General Dictionary*, in *Browne Willis*, and elsewhere. It is here copied from *Lloyd’s Memorials*.

## Interim

Hic ille est, si nescire fas sit,  
 Eximius Doctor,  
 Qui sub nupera Tyrannide labanti Ecclesie  
 Suppetias cum primis tulit;  
 Clero à Rebelli Profanaque Plebe conculcato  
 Improperium abstulit;  
 Religioni apud nos Reformatos professæ  
 Gloriam attulit;  
 Dum,  
 Fremente licet Gehenna,  
 Biblia Polyglotta summo præ cæteris studio excoluit,  
 Et excudi procuravit:  
 Inde  
 Utrique Testamentum promeruit monumentum,  
 Et maximis impensis posuit.  
 Quare  
 Longo titulorum syrmate superbire non indiget,  
 Qui nomen jam scriptum habet  
 In Libro Vitæ.

Decessit Vigiliis S<sup>æ</sup>. Andreæ, Nov. 29. {

 Ætatis LXII.  
 Consecrationis I.  
 Salutis MDCLXI.

I know not whether the bishop left any family.  
 But there appears a person, of \* both his names,  
 and of the same college in Cambridge, who took  
 his first degree in 1676, and that of doctor of laws  
 in 1688. In 1683, the books of this most learned  
 prelate were advertised to be sold, with the invit-

\* Camb. Grad. Book.



ing designation of "a bishop Walton's famous Library." Famous and truly valuable, indeed, we may well believe it; nor may we forbear to deplore the dispersion of it. We read with envy the following little notice respecting it, and with unavailing sorrow that of the article no further trace remains. "I asked him," says the fortunate purchaser, speaking of a bookseller, "to shew me some other Manuscripts which I was informed he had; and which he did: and, among others, a valuable Manuscript of a Greek Testament, which formerly belonged to bishop Walton, who published the Polyglot Bible. These I cheapened, &c."

From these humble remembrances of the <sup>1</sup> first promoter, the chief compiler, and the sole editor, of the London Polyglot Bible, I proceed to mention, with a view to shew what each contributed, rather than to pretend a complete account of any,

<sup>2</sup> L'Estrange's Observator, "Aprill 14. 1683. Bishop Walton's famous Library will be exposed to sale by Auction upon the 30th day of this present Aprill. By Samuell Carr, at his house, at the King's Head in St. Paul's Church-yard. Where Catalogues may be had gratis."

<sup>3</sup> A Vindication of King Charles I. proving that he was the author of *Ἐκκλ. Βασιλική*. 3d. edit. 4to. Lond. 1711. p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Such are the titles which Dr. Twells has justly bestowed on bishop Walton. Life of Pocock, §. 3.

those <sup>1</sup> who brought their learning into this treasury. Indeed several of these persons have not wanted biographers worthy of them, familiar to every reader of taste and judgment; and of such, as are mentioned incidentally only in various publications, it is now too late to expect regular narratives. The least, however, of the labourers, in so noble a work, cannot be recalled to notice, without grateful respect. “*Digni sanè illi qui laudarentur, sed indignus ego qui laudem.*”

<sup>1</sup> See the Præf. in Bib. Polyglott. “*Etsi verò multi sunt, &c.*” ad fin.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Of Dr. Walton's Assistants.*

I. "THE next book to the Polyglot Bible for labour and worth, and which is always to be named with it, is the Heptaglot Lexicon of Dr. Castell." Such is the just remark of a biographer of Dr. Lightfoot. Indeed, in the Preface to the Polyglot, Dr. Walton speaks of this Lexicon "prospectively as a supplement to his own work. With notices of Dr. Castell, therefore, the present chapter may properly begin.

Dr. Edmund Castle, or Castell, was a younger son of Robert Castell, Esq. of East Hatley, in

" " Ne quis verò Grammaticas et Lexica singularum linguarum desideret, quo fructus uberius ex hoc opere percipiat, (licet hæc ad Opus Biblicum propriè non pertineant,) viri quidam docti et linguarum periti, qui in hac editione operam fidem nobis præstiterunt, in animo habent aliud volumen edere; in quo, præter Grammaticalia præcepta etiam Linguarum Orientalium quæ in Bibliis nostris occurrunt, Lexicon generale absolutum *Hebraicæ, Samaritanæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Ethiopicæ, et Persicæ*, secundum Schindleri Methodum in Pentaglotto suo, conficere decreverunt, in eorum usum qui subsidium ad sumptus perferendos conferre velint, *cujus Specimen luculentum asper impressum ediderunt.*" Præf.

the county of Cambridge ; where he was born in 1606. He became a pensioner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1621 ; from which he removed, many years afterwards, to St. John's College, for the advantage, as some have said, of the library there. In the early part of his life, he had been Vicar of Hatfield-Peverell, in Essex ; and afterwards Rector of Woodham-Walter, in the same county ; both which he resigned at different periods. He was also Rector of Higham-Gobion, in Bedfordshire ; which benefice he retained till his death. He was appointed professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge in 1666, and a prebendary of Canterbury in 1667. He was also chaplain in ordinary to king Charles the second. Possessed of these honours, he died in 1685.

The commencement of his labours upon the Lexicon appears to have been in the <sup>a</sup> same year,

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Walton, in the preceding note, mentions the specimen of the Lexicon as then (1657) published ; and speaks of more than one as employed in it. Nor has Castell omitted, in his Preface, to notice partners in his toil ; yet some of them at length deterred by the immensity of the undertaking from further concurrence ; some remaining long with him, as Murray, Beveridge, and Wansleb ; but Lightfoot always, as *without him*, he has said, *his work could never have been so entire as it is*. See Strype's Life of Lightfoot, p. xxi. It appears also that Mr. Samuel Clarke was another of the *viri docti*, alluded to by Dr. Walton, in the following

which presented to the public Dr. Walton's proposals for his Bible. For this Lexicon, which

very interesting account, in 1661, both of Castell and his work. " Dr. Castell, *whose labours about the Biblia Polyglotta were not inferior to any one's*, and Mr. Clarke, *an assistant also in the Great Bible*, persevering in their endeavours to do yet more good, about three years since printed some Proposals for the printing of Grammars and Lexicons for the Languages in the Great Bible. In Cambridge they found good acceptance, and Dr. Castell professeth he received no where so much encouragement for the work as there; and when some number of subscribers had paid the first sum, they began to open the press. *But Mr. Clarke is called to an office in Oxford.* Dr. Castell yet resolves to go on *cum bono Deo*; and with the assistance of such persons as were fit for the work, and patient, *he hath finished all the first tome*: the other tome now in the press, and the Grammars, will be finished as soon as may be with convenience. *That which hath retarded the work, has been the paucity of subscribers, besides the unfaithfulness of some that subscribed.*—Dr. Castell is a modest and retired person. Indefatigably studious, (and for many years his studies were devoted to these Eastern languages,) he hath sacrificed himself to this service; and is resolved, for the glory of God and the good of men, to go on in this work, though he die in it, and the sooner for the great pains it requires; *so great that Petrus and some others, that were engaged by him to assist, were forced to desist, as being unable to endure such Herculean labours.* I never see Dr. Castell, nor think of him, but his condition affects me. He hath worn his body in the unexpressible labours, which the preparations of such a work for the press require. He hath been forced to sell

was published in 1669, has been described as “a work of seventeen years; *a seventeen years’ drudgery*, as he himself styled it in one of his Letters; in which, besides his own pains, he maintained in constant salary seven English and as many strangers for his assistants; all which died some years before the work was finished; and the whole burthen fell upon himself; though by God’s grace he at last finished it, before it finished him.”

Yet, thus employed, he did not hesitate,

some part of his no great temporal estate, to procure money for the paying off the workmen at the press; the money subscribed falling short, and there being such a scarcity of persons so nobly affected as to contribute. God preserve him in health, that he may lay the head-stone; God raise up some, that may move others of ample fortune to ennoble themselves, by encouraging a work of so universal and diffusive a good; God reward him in the comforts—of this life also! Persons, deserving highly for their endeavours of the publick good, would have found not less encouragement in the heathen world. Such an one at Athens would have had the favour of the *Prytaneum*. Would such places were erected in Christendom!” Letters of Dr. Worthington to Hartlib, Ep. xvi. Sep. 9. 1661. p. 280, et seq. Dr. Pocock was also an assistant to Castell. Castell petitioned Cromwell to have five thousand reams of royal paper, excise and custom free. See Dr. Twells’s Life of Pocock, §. 3.

† Strype, Life of Lightfoot, Prefixed to Lightfoot’s Works, p. xxi.

though he worked \* most laboriously for it; to render many important services to Dr. Walton; in a \* manner too which illustrates the great modesty, as well as erudition, which Dr. Walton, in \* acknowledging those services, has not overpassed. His labours upon the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic versions, with notes upon all of them; and his Latin translation of the Canticles in the last-named language; are what the Preface to the Polyglot records. In the sixth volume of the Polyglot, his \* further assistance of collation is gratefully noticed. Yet these acknowledgments have not been considered equal to his services. For he is

\* Sixteen or eighteen hours a day between the Polyglot and the Lexicon! He accounted it a kind of idle holiday; if at any time this space of study was shortened! “*Mihi verò in molendino hoc per tot annorum lustra indesinenter occupato, dies ille tanquam festus et otiosus visus est, in quo, tam Bibliis Polyglottis quàm Lexicis hisce promovendis, sedecim aut octodecim horas dictum non insudavi.*” Epist. Dedic. in Lexic.

\* Speaking of the Manuscripts which Dr. Walton spared neither cost, nor labour, to procure for the Polyglot, he adds; “*Cujus etiam vigilantie, studiisque indefessis, debetur, quod conatus nostri, qui in eadem arena desudavimus, aliquid hic in bonum publicum protulerint.*” See his Præf. in Animadvers. Samarit. in Genesin, Bib. Pol. vol. vi.

\* Præf. in Bib. Polyglot.

\* Vide Collat. Pentateuchi Hebraici cum Samaritico, Bib. Polyglot. vol. vi.

' said to have also translated several of the Books of the New Testament, and the Syriac version of Job, where differing from the Arabic. To the neglect also, which his generosity experienced, there is a pointed reference in the Preface to his own Lexicon. On him, as on other learned assistants, Dr. Walton mentioned that he had bestowed gratuities ; but mentioned not, that Dr. *Castell* had spent upon the work, as he himself " tells us, both the gratuity for his assistance, and a thousand pounds besides, partly of his own private fortune, and partly solicited from the liberality of others.

That a scholar so learned, and so generous, should have been compelled to utter the pangs of disappointment, and grief, and sorrow, who will not deplore ? His health was " impaired ; his

\* Nichols, Supplement to the Origin of Printing, p. 291. Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv. p. 24.

\* Præf. in Lex. p. 1. "*Honorarium illud, quod in Præfatione Waltoniana dicor accepisse, in illud ipsum opus non refundebam tantum omne, sed mille plus minus libras ad promovendum illud, partim ab aliis sollicitando procurabam, partim ipse donabam ultra.*"

" Epist. Dedic. in Lex. " Mitto privata quæ corpori in curriculo hujus operis contigerunt mala, membrorum confractioes, lassationes, contusionēs ; quodque præ omnibus hisce gravissimè dolet, oculorum lumen, perpetuis atque indefessis vigiliis, tantum non ademptum." Again, Præf. in Lex. " Per plures annos, jam ætate proventus, et una cum patri-



sight almost lost; his fortune greatly injured. "See and pity his condition," says the feeling biographer of Dr. Lightfoot; "see and pity his condition, as he sets it out in one of his Letters to Dr. Lightfoot, where he says, *He had spent twenty years in time to the publick service, above 12,000*l.* of his own estate, and for a reward was left in the close of the work above 1800*l.* in' debt.* Thus he kept his resolution, though it was as fatal to him as useful to the world. For, in the beginning of the undertaking, he resolved to prosecute it, though it cost him all his estate, as he told Mr. <sup>a</sup> Clarke! This forced him to make his condition known unto his Majesty, wherein he petitioned, *that a jail might not be his reward for so much service and expence.*"

*monio satis competenti, exhaustis etiam animi viribus, oculis caligantibus, corporis variis in hoc opere confractis et dislocatis membris, relictus sum solus, sine amanuensi, aut vel correctore ullo!*"

<sup>a</sup> Strype, ut supr.

<sup>b</sup> See also Castell's Epist. Ded. in Lex. "Opus, in quo millenas [libras] multò plures infaustus exhausti, præter plurima atque ingentia valde quæ contraxi debita."

<sup>c</sup> Another of Dr. Walton's assistants, and Dr. Castell's especial friend. See Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. See also before note (").

Nor did his work escape illiberal and malicious remarks. Yet, in a Letter to Dr. Lightfoot, he suppressed his vexation with the consolatory reflection, that "a one Dr. Lightfoot was more to him than ten thousand such censors. Besides some few others amongst ourselves, I have," he continues, "a Golius, a Buxtorf, a Hottinger, a Ludolfo, &c. in foreign parts, that both by their letters, and in print, have not only sufficiently, but too amply and abundantly for me to communicate, expressed their over-high esteem of that, which finds but a prophet's reward here in its close."

Still amidst all these adverse circumstances, he was upon the constant watch for whatever might advance the progress of oriental and biblical learning. The following Letter, written by him in 1664, is a curious proof of this. "b Though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how Holy Writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian Psalter given me by Professor Golius, come newly off the press; where they are printing, at Leyden, the whole Bible in that language. The Old Testament is there printing in the Turkish language, perfected by

<sup>a</sup> Strype, *ut sup.* p. xxvi.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxiii.

Levinus Warnerus.. The New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. \* Seaman, is just now in the press at Oxford; of which I have some sheets by me; as I have also of the old Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, now printed with a Glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. † Petræus hath

\* According to Dr. Worthington's account, where he is speaking of Castell's Lexicon, this Mr. Seaman was another assistant to Dr. Castell. "The care for the Persian Lexicon and Grammar doth chiefly lie upon Mr. Seaman, of whose skill in the Turkish language I wrote to you heretofore; the same that out of Turkish MSS. translated and published the Life of Sultan Orchan. He hath translated some of the New Testament into that language." Dr. Worthington's Letters to Hartlib, Ep. xvi. Sept. 9, 1661, p. 282. In 1666, the New Testament in Turkish, by this Mr. Seaman, was published at Oxford.

† Dr. Worthington also says, at this time, "I am glad Petræus is publishing his translations of the Lesser Prophets. In what language are they? He is most for the Coptic language." Letter to Hartlib, October 26, 1661, p. 296. The translations to which Dr Worthington alludes must be those of Jonah, Joel, and Malachi, Ethiopic and Latin, published by Petræus in 1660 and 1661. Petræus published the first Psalm in *Coptic*, Arabic, and Latin, in 1663. The following may be added to Bishop Marsh's valuable account of *Translations of the Scriptures into the Languages of Africa*: "Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ in Museo Borgiano velitris asservantur, cum reliquis Versionibus Egyptiis contulit, Latine vertit, necnon criticis et philologicis adnotationibus

printed some parts of the Old Testament in the Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared both in that and the Coptic language. The \* Lithuanian, of which I have a good part by me, and the † New England Bibles, I need not name. I have a specimen of a Turkish dictionary, printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee dictionary in folio in the Hebrew language, composed by † Leonard Cohen

illustravit W. F. Englebreth, Eccl. Lyd. &c. Verbi Divini Minister, et Præpos. Honor. 4to. Havniae, 1811. This is a very curious and important work.

• A Lithuanian translation of the Bible, made by Chylinsky, was printed in London in 1660. Chylinsky published at Oxford an account of this translation in 1659, which had then been finished; to which the approbation of many learned members of the University is added, dat. Nov. 15, 1659.

† Bishop Marsh says, that there are only two American languages, into which the whole Bible has been translated; the Brasilian, and the Virginian. The former, however, has never been printed; the latter was printed at Cambridge in New England, the New Testament in 1661, the Old Testament in 1663. Transl. ut supr. p. 98. To these Dr. Castell must be considered as referring, the whole Bible not being reprinted in New England before 1685.

‡ Dr. Castell must mean David (not Leonard) Cohen de Lara; to whose rabbinical dictionary he refers in the Preface to his Lexicon. This person is the author of a remarkably curious philological work, entitled *ענין דין*, sive, *De Conventia Vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et quibus-*

de Lara ; which our ὁ μακρίτης Professor Buxtorf much desired he might live to see finished : 'tis said to be now near its period at the press.

One would have rejoiced to find the publication of the Heptaglot Lexicon bringing compensation to its noble-minded editor. Yet the <sup>1</sup> slender sums which the recommendatory letters of the king to the bishops and noblemen, and of the archbishop and bishops to <sup>1</sup> others, produced in aid of Dr. Castell's work, only serve to shew the inauspicious period in which he sought assistance ; and argue a want of means, we should hope, rather than of discernment or of feeling.

dam aliis Linguis Europæis. 4to. Amst. 1648. He says, that this had been his study for twelve years : " Mihi quidē is labor annis stetit duodecim." Præf.

<sup>1</sup> Epist. Dedic. in Lex. " Enimverò universæ hæ literæ, plus minus, septingentas libras tantum mihi porrexerunt ad promovendum opus !"

<sup>1</sup> The king's letter in 1660, was followed by one from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the clergy in 1663, before which, application had been made to the Convocation in 1661. See Kennet's Register, p. 493. There were also other letters circulated in behalf of this great undertaking. But Dr. Castell has told us, in the preceding note, how little *they all produced* ; about seven hundred pounds ; not near a tenth of the sum, which he himself had advanced upon the work ! The king's letter, the archbishop's, and another signed by several bishops, are prefixed to the Lexicon.

How slow must have been the sale of it, when in 1673, he could <sup>k</sup> communicate to a friend, that he had at least a thousand copies left! At the time of his death, about five hundred copies are supposed to have been unsold. One hundred, with other books, he left to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, as an acknowledgment of very high obligations to him. The unsold copies were <sup>l</sup>placed, by his niece and executrix, in a room in one of her tenants' houses, where they were exposed to the ravages of rats; by which they were so mangled, that, on her death, her executors could scarcely form one complete copy of them. The whole formed a load of waste paper, which was sold for seven pounds! Besides this loss of copies, three hundred more of them, as far as the work had then proceeded at the press, <sup>m</sup>perished in the fire of London; and with them part of his library and furniture. The first volume seems to have been published <sup>n</sup>in or before 1663; and of

<sup>k</sup> Original Letter from Dr. Castell to Mr. S. Clarke. Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv. p. 895.

<sup>l</sup> Dibdin, Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics, 3d edition, vol. i. p. 25.

<sup>m</sup> Epist. Ded. in Lex. "Pars etiam bibliothecæ meæ, cum multa supellectile et tricenis Lexici Heptagloti exemplaribus, in flammis periit Londinensibus."

<sup>n</sup> It looks as if it had been finished at the press in 1661, by the following observation of Dr. Worthington. "I

the second volume great part must have been printed at the time of the fire ; which calamitous event, however, ° greatly impeded its progress.

But Dr. *Castell* has not omitted to ° enumerate

wish them good success at the press about *the other volume of the Lexicon* ; and that Dr. *Castell* may have a better gale to carry him to the desired port." Ep. xix. November 14, 1661, p. 300. But that the first volume had appeared in 1663, I gather from the *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrasis, eorumque Versionibus, &c.* By T. Smith, of Oxford, published in that year ; in which, at p. 99, he cites, with proper respect, Dr. *Castell*, to a radix in col. 1622 of the said volume of the *Lexicon*.

° *Epist. Ded.* " Mitto alia magis publica, Bellum nationale, Pestem sævissimam, et miserandum urbis Incendium ; quibus omnibus diutius multò ut protractum fuit hoc antea languens negotium, ita supra modum ingravescebant simul onera mea et impensæ.

° *Pref. in Lex.* " Coronidis loco, agnoscenda hic atque publicanda meritò illustrissimorum virorum (in tanto tamque longo plurimorum annorum decursu, non multorum quidè) beneficentia, qui opus hoc neglectum, et casibus diris ac durissimis languescens nimis, donariis suis amplis atque munificentia perbenignè excitarunt ac promoverunt. Then follow the names of the King, the Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Grandison*, Sir *Edmund Fortescue*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull*, Sir *Thomas Rich*, Sir *Thomas Wendy*, *F. Theobald*, Esq. the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Salisbury*. Dr. *Castell* adds, " Est adhuc honoratissimus unus, vel alter alius, quos intra velum latere jubet prudentia, et rerum ratio."

many noble patrons of his work, and to acknowledge subscriptions towards repaying his expences. Nor is it probable that he died poor. In 1684 he is found <sup>1</sup> completing the purchase of a small estate in Hertfordshire; and the inventory of his goods, taken after his decease, <sup>2</sup> presents the remains of a respectable establishment, not without a coach also and a pair of horses. He appears not, like Dr. Walton, to have been deprived of his rectory in Essex, during the great rebellion. Yet he complains of the <sup>3</sup> civil war, as well as of the plague and of the fire of London, in the melancholy detail of his impediments and losses. He <sup>4</sup> bequeathed his Oriental Manuscripts to the Public Library of the University of Cambridge. His notes upon the Pentaglot Lexicon of Schindler, in an interleaved copy of the work, forming three volumes, are preserved among the Manuscripts of Sidney College in that University; to which society they were <sup>5</sup> presented by Mr. Theophilus

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 4. p. 696.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 697—699.

<sup>3</sup> See note (•) p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Nichols, *ut supr.* pp. 28, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Edm. Castelli Notæ in Lexicon Schindleri propria manu scriptæ. Biblioth. Coll. Sidney-Suss. h. l. dedit T. Pickering, S. T. B. ejusdem Coll. Soc. et Canonicus Dunelm. The



Pickering, one of the fellows soon after the time of Dr. Castell, and a prebendary of Durham. To Emmanuel College Dr. Castell \* left some printed books, and to St. John's a silver tankard. The rest of his library, "*quam ingenti sumptu et summa diligentia ex ulterius Europæ partibus sibi procuravit,*" &c. was sold by auction at Cambridge in 1689.

It has been said that, "we know nothing further published by Dr. Castell, excepting a thin quarto pamphlet, in 1660, entitled '*Sol Angliæ Oriens Auspiciis Caroli II. Regum Gloriosissimi.*'" He certainly published also a very curious and valuable † Oration upon the Arabic Language,

three volumes abound with notes; and we may form a notion of their great value, when in the Preface to his own Lexicon we find Dr. Castell referring to "*Schindleri* [Lexicon] quod ferè integrum in hoc opus transfudimus."

\* Nichols, ut supr.

† Ibid. p. 24.

‡ Printed in 1680. The dedication is to the king, which closes thus: "*Carmina sua illis linguis, quæ in Lexico, quod sub prelo est, Polyglotto Orientali, exhibentur, humillimè offert, suo et sociorum nomine Edm. Castell, S. T. B.*"

§ It is remarkable that this Oration should have hitherto been overpassed by those who have written concerning Dr. Castell, as he expressly refers to it in the Preface to his Lexicon. The whole title of it is, "*Oratio in Scolis Theologicis habita ab Edmundo Castello S. T. D. et Lingux Arabicæ in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professore, cùm Prælec-*

which indeed deserves to be well known. It recommends, among other eulogies, this language on account of its copiousness; and speaks of its numerous words so comprehensive, as, singly, to express whole sentences. It informs us, that the Arabians and Syrians possessed some writings of Plato, Aristotle, Livy, Galen, Dioscorides, and even of the Christian Fathers, to which Europeans were utter strangers. It relates advantages which have been derived from it to the study of the civil and canon law, and also of medicine. It especially details several errors and obscurities, into which expositors of Avicenna have run. It moreover displays abundant sacred criticism, and investigates several Oriental Versions of Scripture.

In the preceding publication, the *Sol Angliæ*, &c. congratulating the king upon his return in Polyglot verses, the introductory poem notices the Polyglot Bible with admiration and gratitude. And now reverting to Dr. Castell's principal work, I adopt in conclusion the very judicious remark upon it of no ordinary pen, "that it is a work which has long challenged the admiration,

*tiones suas in secundum Canonis Avicennæ librum auspica-  
retur, quibus via præstruitur ex Scriptoribus Orientalibus  
ad clarius ac dilucidius enarrandam Botanologicam S. S.  
Scripturæ partem, opus à nemine adhuc tentatum."* 4to.  
Lond. 1687.

<sup>a</sup> Dibdin, at supr. pp. 26, 27.

and <sup>b</sup> defied the competition, of foreigners; and, which, with the great Polyglot of Walton, its inseparable and invaluable companion, has raised an eternal monument of literary fame."

## II. Of Archbishop Usher so many <sup>c</sup> biographical

<sup>b</sup> Some improvements have been made, and some proposed, upon Castell. The Persic Lexicon is a part of Dr. Castell's work, which has been undervalued, Dr. A. Clarke says, by such as either did not or could not consult it: but it is an excellent work; and to it even *Meninski* and *Richardson* are indebted for a multitude of articles: its chief fault is want of distinct arrangement: the words are sadly intermixed, and many Persian words are printed with Hebrew types, probably because they had but few Persian characters. Bibliograph. Dict. Vol. I. p. 269. I may add, that lately the following remark has been made in regard to the Syriac part. "Vocabula Syriaca, in Jobo obvia, apud Castellum autem in Lexico desiderata, accuratè enotavi. Qui Castellianum Lexicon quotidianis manibus terunt, benè intelligunt, quæ quantaque in Lexicographia Syriacæ adhuc præstanda supersint, neque parvam hanc messem in contemptu habebunt, sed potius his candidè mecum fruentur." Vid. Curæ Hexaplares in Jobum è Codice Syriaco-Hexaplati Ambrosiano-Mediolanensi. Scripsit *Henricus Middeldorpf*, Phil. et Theol. D. Hujusque P. P. O. in Universitate Litterarum Vratislaviensi. 4to. Vratislaviæ, 1817. p. xi.

<sup>c</sup> Besides Sir James Ware's works, see particularly in English, Dr. Bernard's *Life and Death of the Archbishop*, &c. 1656; Dr. Parr's, prefixed to his *Letters*, &c. 1686, Gen. Dict. Biograph. Brit. And in Latin, Dr. Dillingham's, 1700; and Dr. Smith's, 1707.

accounts exist, and so well known are the works, that it seems almost needless to say more of him here, than that he was the constant friend and helper of Dr. Walton. Yet some dispersed remembrances of this eminent prelate may, perhaps, be found not an uninteresting addition to the notice of his share in the Polyglot. No less mild than he was learned, he has been represented by bishop Burnet as having too gentle a soul to manage the rough work of reforming abuses, and as possessing with his great and vast learning, a truly apostolical mind; in a word, as one of the greatest and best men which the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. He was born at Dublin in 1580; and was admitted into Trinity College there in 1593. In 1607 he was appointed professor of divinity in that University; in 1620, bishop of Meath; and in 1625, archbishop of Armagh. Upon the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion, he withdrew into England; and was nominated to the see of Carlisle; from which, however, he derived little advantage, owing to the troubles which also befel this country. He fixed upon Oxford as a residence for at least three years; and <sup>d</sup>there perhaps formed his intimacy with Dr. Walton. Chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, he dis-

<sup>d</sup> See before, in this vol. p. 27.

dained, however, to join them ; although his name had been placed among them, together with that of " Dr. Stiles parson of St. George's neer the bridge, *'by the burgesses for the Universitie of Oxford.'*" Who can wonder at the disdain of Usher, when the indignation of 'Milton also against the men of this convention has been very strongly expressed ? The good prelate continued to pursue the worthier course of illustrating, amidst many troubles and privations, his character as an

\* The names of the Orthodox Divines, presented by the Knights and Burgesses of severall Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, as fit persons to be consulted with by the Parliament, touching the Reformation of Church Government and Liturgie, April 25, 1642. Single sheet, printed at London by John Franck, 1642. Archbishop Usher is the first person named. Milton, in his justly severe animadversions upon these reformers, calls them " a certain number of divines, not chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical—*only as each member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one.*" See Milton's Hist. of England, B. 3. It appears that some doubt had arisen as to the propriety of Usher's being chosen, which gave occasion to a pleasant remark from Selden: " The house of parliament—making a question whether they had best admit bishop Usher to the Assembly of Divines, he [Selden] said, they had as good enquire whether they had best admit *Inigo Jones, the king's architect, to the company of mouse-trap makers!*" Append. ad. Lib. Nigr. Saccarii, à T. Hearne, vol. 2. p. 594. Cited by Dr. Grey, Notes on Hud. i. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Milton, Hist. of Eng. ut supr.

antiquary, historian, and divine; and died in March 1655-6. Cromwell, who professed respect for him, ordered his remains to be interred with pomp in Westminster Abbey; but venturing not beyond the confines of *generosity by halves*, or rather by <sup>2</sup> thirds, he brought upon the relations of the archbishop a very heavy expence in the business of the funeral. The Usurper, it seems, thought the solemnity a good method to make himself <sup>1</sup> popular; though he appears to have managed it with the address of a cheap undertaker, rather than with the liberality of a public governor.

To archbishop *Usher* Dr. Walton has acknowledged himself so much indebted, in regard to the formation and completion of the Polyglot, as to place him at the <sup>1</sup> head of his literary benefactors.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 78. "I should not have said so much on this subject, had it not been to shew the world the *intriguing subtilty of the Usurper*, even in this *small affair*; and that for the expence of about 200*l.* out of the deodands in his almoner's hands, (which was nothing to him,) he was able to put those he accounted his enemies [the archbishop's relations] to *treble that charge*."

<sup>1</sup> Parr's *Life*, &c. ut *supr.*

<sup>2</sup> Pref. in *Bib. Polygl.* "Inter quos primas merito tenet Primas ille Reverendiss. Hybernise, *Jacobus Usserius*, Archiepisc. Armachanus, ὁ μακροβύτης, cui inter alias virtutes hæc propria laus erat nil proprium habere, sed ex effusa bonitate omnia in Reip. Literariæ bonum communicare; qui ex instructissima sua bibliotheca libros plurimos MSS. et

Justly relying on the judgment and learning of the prelate, Dr. Walton failed not to consult him on every difficult point; and how often he has bowed to that learning and judgment, his critical treatises in the last volume of the Polyglot and his vindication of the whole work abundantly shew. Of the great importance of the sixteen Manuscripts collated by *Usher*, the various readings of which are admitted into the Polyglot, mention has been <sup>a</sup> already made.

I shall now exhibit, as in <sup>1</sup> alliance with the history of the Polyglot, some curious passages, selected from the letters of archbishop *Usher* and his friends; exemplifying his ardour in the pursuit of whatever might promote Oriental and biblical criticism.

“ = Dublin, Apr. 16. 1622. I desire to have some news out of France concerning the Samaritan Pentateuch; and how the numbers of the

*impressos variorum idiomatum nobis libenter commodavit, consiliumque suum, quando ipsum convenirem, libenter impertivit, quò in multis me adjutum profiteor, haud iniquè tamen talit, quo erat animi candore, si in quibusdam dis-  
censum liberè profiterer.”*

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 79.

<sup>1</sup> In perusing these curious notices of literature, we shall not forget Dr. Walton's acknowledgment of the curious books, manuscript and printed, which the library of *Usher* afforded him. See the last note but one, and Dr. Walton's letter to him, p. 62.

= *Parr's Letters of Abp. Usher, &c.* p. 81.

years of the Fathers, noted therein, do agree with those which the *Σαμαριτινῶν* hath in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri ; also whether Fronto Duceus's edition of the Septuagint be yet published." *Usher (then bishop of Meath) to Selden.*

"Aleppo, Aug. 29. 1624. May it please your Lordship to take notice, that your letter of the 24th of January, in London, came to my hands the 14th of July, unto which I have given due perusal ; and, perceiving your Lordship's pleasure thereby, omitted no opportunity, neither any time, but the very day that I received it began to look out for those books you writ for. The five Books of Moses in the Samaritan character

\* This letter exists in manuscript among Dr. Ward's Adversaria in Sidney College, Cambridge ; and was probably sent by Usher to Dr. Ward.

\* Dr. Bernard says, that the archbishop "had four [*Samaritan Pentateuchs*] sent him by a factor, [the writer of the above letter,] whom he employed for the search of things of that nature ; and were thought to be all that could be had there. He gave one to the library at Oxford ; a second to Leyden, for which Ludovicus de Dieu gives him publick thanks in a book dedicated to him ; a third to Sir Robert Cotton's library ; and the fourth (having as I take it compared it with the other) he kept himself. The Old Testament in *Syriack*, a rarity also in these parts, was sent to him from thence not long after." Dr. Bernard's *Life of Usher*, 1656. p. 85. Dr. Parr relates, that "by the means of Mr. Thomas Davis, then merchant at Aleppo, Usher procured one of the first *Samaritan Pentateuchs* that ever was brought into these western parts ; as also the Old Testa-



I have found by a meer accident, with the rest of the Old Testament joyned with them : but the mischief is, there wants two or three leaves of the beginning of Genesis, and as many in the Psalms ; which, notwithstanding, I purpose to send by this ship, lest I meet not with another ; yet I have sent to Damascus, and if not there to be had, to Mount Gerizim ; so that in time I hope to procure another, which shall contain the five Books of Moses perfectly. I sent a messenger on purpose to Mount Libanus and Tripoly for the Old Testament in the Syriack tongue ; but he returned without it, and brought word that there I might have one after two months, but could not have it time enough to send by this ship. But I pray understand, that by the Syriack tongue they mean here the Chaldean ; and every man tells me it is all one, the Syrians and Chaldeans being one and the same people, but questionless the same language : therefore if your

ment in *Syriack*, much more perfect than had hitherto been seen in these parts ; together with other manuscripts of value. *This Pentateuch, with the rest, were borrowed of him by Dr. Walton, and by him made use of in the Polyglot Bible.*" Life, &c. p. 36. Not long before, a priest of the Oratory at Paris had received from the famous traveller, Pietro della Valle, another copy of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which he placed in the library belonging to his order ; from which copy Morinus published it in the Polyglot of Le Jay.

Lordship mean, and desire, to have the Old Testament in Chaldean, I beseech you to write to me by the first over land, that I may provide it by the next ship." *Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Davis to Usher.*

" ' Aleppo, 16 Jan. 1625. I perceive that my letter, together with the five Books of Moses in the Samaritan character, came in safety to your hands ; being very glad it proves so acceptable to your Lordship. I however find myself to have been abused by a Jew, who pretends to have knowledge in that tongue, affirming to me that it contained all the Old Testament. How they read those Books I have enquired (having no better means) of him, who, I perceive, knows no more (if so much) than their alphabet.—A former letter, which it seems your Lordship writ and sent away by Marseilles, I never received : but as for the Old Testament in the Chaldean tongue, my diligence hath not wanted to procure, and to this end sent divers times to Tripoly and Mount Libanus ; but could not prevail. I have seen here the first two Books of Moses ; but, examining them according to your direction, I found them to be out of the Greek : whereupon I resolved to send to Emmit and Carommit a city in Mesopotamia, where divers of the sect of the Jacobites do re-

main ; and after a long time there was sent me (which I received eight days past) the five Books of Moses only, in an old Manuscript, and according to the Hebrew, with a promise ere long to send the rest of the Old Testament. The party that sent me this is the patriarch of the Jacobites in those parts, who writ also that I should have Eusebius his Chronicle, with some of the Works of Ephrem ; which if he do, shall be sent by the first good conveyance. Those parcels of the New Testament, viz. the history of the adulterous woman, the second Epistle of St. Pêter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude, with the Book of the Revelation, I have procured, and sent them together with the five Books of Moses, and a small Tract of Ephrem, by the ship *Patience* of London.—I have sought the Old Testament in that tongue which is out of the Greek, and distinguished by certain marks and stars ; but I cannot hear of any such. From Emmet I hope to have some good news to write your Lordship, and to send you a catalogue

\* The archbishop in his directions to Ravius to procure books for him in the East, particularly refers to this: "*Libri, quos pro me requiri velim, hi sunt: Vetus Testamentum Syriacum, non ex Hebræo factum, (illud enim habeo,) sed ex Græco versum, atque obelis et asteriscis distinctum: Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ Syriacæ, &c.*" Parr's Lett. ut supr. p. 622.

of such books as be here to be had." *The same to the same.*

"Aleppo, July, 1625. It is a good while since I writ to your Grace, for want of a good occasion ; not presuming to trouble you with unnecessary lines : so trust my long silence will be excused. The five Books of Moses, with those parcels of the New Testament, (which your Lordship writ for,) in the Chaldean tongue, sent you ten months ago, I trust in safety are come to your hands ; whereof I should be glad to hear. I have used my best industry to procure those other books that you would have bought, but hitherto have not been so happy as to light upon any of them ; such books being very rare, and valued as jewels, though the possessors are able to make little use of them. Amongst all the Chaldeans that lay in Mount Libanus, Tripoly, Sidon, and Jerusalem, there is but one old Copy of the Old Testament in their language extant, and that in the custody of the patriarch of the sect of the Maronites, who hath his residence in Mount Libanus, which he may not part with upon any terms ; only there is liberty given to take copies thereof, which of a long time hath been promised me ; and indeed I made full account to have been possessed of one ere this time, having

agreed for it ; but I was deluded ; which troubled me not a little : so, in fine, I resolved to send a man on purpose to Libanus to take a copy thereof, who is gone, and I hope in four or five months will finish it ; and, by the assistance of the Almighty, I trust to be able to send it by our next ships.—I perceive you would have the New Testament in the Ethiopian language and character, wherein my best endeavours have not wanted ; for which purpose I have sent to Damascus, where a few of the Abyssines do inhabit, yet have had no answer thence ; and in case I do not prevail there, I purpose to send to Jerusalem, where divers of them do attend upon the sepulchre of our Lord ; whence I hope to be furnished, and in due time to send it, with the Old Testament in the Syriack tongue, by the next ships.” *The same to the same.*

“ ‘ Aleppo, November 14, 1626. I take notice, that your Grace hath received mine of the 16th of January, with the books sent you by the ship *Patience* of London ; being very glad thereof, but more joyful that your Lordship finds such content in them ; being sorry that I am not able to perform to the full what you desire. The patriarch’s name, that sold me the books, is *Jésu Jéb* ; which, in the Chaldee tongue, is as much

as to say, *Jesus give me.* And whereas I writ he was a Jacobite, I pray take notice that he is a Nestorian.—His promise to me he hath not kept, neither could I ever hear of him since he sent me that book now in your Lordship's possession; yet I caused divers letters to be writ to him, and at this present have given order to write to him again: but, as I often writ to your Grace, those books are rare, especially in the Chaldean tongue and character. The greatest part of the Chaldee books are written in the Arab character, which I think you would not have, nor esteem. As for the remainder of the Old Testament in the Chaldee, I have sent a man to Mount Libanus to take a copy thereof, intending to send you the whole Old Testament in one volume; notwithstanding I know you have the Books of Moses and the Psalms; those you have are old Copies, and this will be a new transcript; presuming your Lordship will not think much of the charge, which if I had excepted, would have been very little less than now it will be. *The same to the same.*

“ Aleppo, March 14, 1627. May it please your Lordship to take a view of my proceedings for the procuring of such books you gave me order for. Such as I could get, and have in rea-

† *Rarr's Letters*, ut *supr.* p. 381.

diness to be sent by our next ships, are certain books and loose papers in the Samaritan tongue, of what use or value I cannot learn. The Old Testament in the Chaldean, which, after seventeen months' time, is written in a fair character, wanting only the Book of the Psalms, and the second of Esdras. I have used the means I could to procure the New Testament in the Abyssines' language and character, but to this day have not been able. Fourteen days past I sent again to Jerusalem, to try if it, or any of the other books your Lordship would have in the Samaritan tongue, may be had. For obtaining whereof, I have made use of the favour of a gentleman of Venice that is consul in this place, who, I presume, will endeavour to satisfy my great desire in this particular; and if he fail me, I have no farther hopes of prevailing. I am sorry that I can do no better service in a business that may be so beneficial (as your Grace hath intimated) to the Church of God, and so acceptable to yourself." *The same to the same.*

"1626. When the collators have finished the Acts, I could wish they collated the Epistles with the text which is inserted into the Commentaries of Photius and Oecumenius, Manuscripts in the University library; where there are some

varieties of reading also, as I remember, noted in the margent in the brief scholies that are written in red letters. Remember me to Mr. Chancy, and learn of him what he hath done for Mr. Broughton's books; intreat him also to look into the Manuscript Psalter, in Hebrew and Latin, in Trinity Colledge library, and thence transcribe for me the last verse save one of the 59d Psalm, which is wanting in our printed Hebrew Bibles; the Latin of that verse (if I forget not) beginneth, *Consilium Mosis*, &c. I would willingly also hear how far he hath proceeded in the Samaritan Bible, and what Mr. Boys hath done in the transcribing of the Greek Manuscript which I left with him: I wish Mr. Green to send me Lucian in Greek and Latin." *Usher to Dr. Samuel Ward.*

"v Sidney-College, June 6, 1626. I acquainted Mr. White with your pleasure, and wished him to impart it to the rest of the collators, as touching the collation of the text in the Comments of Photius and Oecumenius. I send you inclosed the Hebrew verses you writ for. They are in Deuteronomy, in the Samaritan Pentateuch. I have not as yet spoken with Mr. Boyse. Mr. Green will send you the two books, Lucian, Græco-Lat. and N. Testam. Syriacum-

v Parr's Letters, ut supr. pp. 340, 341.



**Lat.** Mr. White sendeth up unto you the *Variae Lectiones* upon the Psalms." *Dr. Samuel Ward to Usher.*

" \* London, June 16, 1626. I have dealt with your Chancellor very effectually for the erecting of your Library, to which he is of himself exceeding forward. I have procured him to send unto Leyden for all the printed Hebrew books of Erpenius his library ; which together with his Manuscripts, which he hath already, he purposeth to bestow upon your University. I have also perswaded him to send thither for the matrices of the Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick, and Samaritan letters ; and to bestow them likewise upon you. Mr. White hath sent up unto me the *Variae Lectiones* of the Psalms, accompanied with a very kind letter. I pray you, tell him from me, that I will keep them as a perpetual testimony of his love and respect to me ; whereof he shall find that I will not be unmindful, whensoever either himself, or any of his, shall have occasion to use me." *Usher to Dr. Ward.*

" \* London, June 28, 1626. Since I wrote unto you last, I have received intelligence from Leyden, that all Erpenius's printed books are already sold ; and his matrices of the Oriental

\* Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 342.

\* Ibid. p. 343.

languages are bought by Elzevir the printer there ; so that now you must content yourselves with his Manuscripts only, which are a very rare treasure indeed, and for which your University shall rest much beholden unto your Chancellor. I myself have now received out of Mesopotamia an old Manuscript of that Syrian Translation, of the Pentateuch out of the Hebrew, (the same which St. Basil citeth in his Hexaemeron,) which I make very great account of. The patriarch of the Jacobites in those parts, who sent this, promiseth also to send the rest of the Old Testament ere long. In the mean time I have received the paroch of the New Testament, which hitherto we have wanted in that language, viz. the history of the adulterous woman, the 2d Epistle of Peter, the 2d and 3d Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation; as also a small Tractate of Ephrem Syrus, in his own language." *The same to the same.*

"*Dragheda, November 30, 1697.* To give you full satisfaction in that which you desired out of my Samaritan text, I caused the whole fifth chapter of Genesis to be taken out of it, as you see, and so much of the eleventh as concerneth the chronology you have to deal with. The letters in the second and third leaf are more

perfectly expressed, than those in the first; and therefore you were best take them for the pattern of those which you intend to follow in your print, there being but twenty-two of them in number, without any difference of initials and finals, and without any distinction of points and accents. Matrices may be easily cast for them all, without any great charge; which if you can perswade your printer to undertake, I will freely communicate to him the collection of all the differences betwixt the text of the Jews, and the Samaritans, throughout the whole Pentateuch.— I have likewise the old Syriack Translation of the Pentateuch, which was received from the beginning of Christianity in the Church of Antioch; but neither have I transcribed any thing unto you out of that, nor out of my Arabick Manuscript of Moses; because the former hath but a meer translation of the years of the Fathers, as they are found in our common Hebrew text; and the other is wholly taken out of the *LXX*. I have had also another book lately sent unto me from the East, intituled, *Otsar Raza*, or rather *Rasaja*, a *Treasury of Secrets*, containing a brief Commentary, in the Syriack language, upon the whole Old Testament, (excepting the Book of the Lamentations, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther,) and likewise the New, those parts only excepted which are wanting in

our printed Syriack Testaments, (the text whereof I have procured likewise from the patriarch of the Nestorians in Syria,) viz. the 2d Epistle of St. Peter, the 2d and 3d of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the <sup>2</sup> Revelation. In this treasure, among other things worth the observation, are found. 1. A Genealogical Table from Adam to Moses. 2. A Table of the Judges to Samuel. 3. A Table of the Kings of Judah, from Saul to Sedechias. 4. A Chronological Table of the Kings that successively reigned in Babylon, Persia, and Egypt, from thence unto Vespasian; where to Nebuchadnezzar, after the time of Sedechias, are assigned 24 years; to Evilmerodach, 1; to Belshatzar, 2; to Darius the Mede, 3; to Cyrus, 30; to Cambyzes, 8; and all this to make 70 years to the second of Darius Hystaspes, from the desolation of Jerusalem, according to Zechariah i. 12." *Usher to Selden.*

"<sup>2</sup> September 19, 1644. According to your Grace's advice, I have made a Persian Lexicon out of such words as I met with in the Evangelists, and in the Psalms, and in two or three Arabian and Persian Nomenclators. So that I have now a stock of above 6000 words in that lan-

<sup>2</sup> "The Syriack, lately set out at Leyden, may be much amended by my Manuscript Copy." *Archbishop Usher.*

<sup>3</sup> Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 509.

guage, I think as many as Raphelengius hath in his Arabick Dictionary. Wherefore I have a greater mind than ever to go to Leyden, and peruse their Oriental Manuscripts, which were procured by the expence of the States; a thing which long since your Grace would have had me to have done. But yet considering my Lecture in Oxford, (though as yet it cannot be read,) it will not be fit for me to go without special leave from our honourable Chancellor, and two or three more of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council. I shall, therefore, desire your Grace to procure this favour for me in writing, with this caution, that my absence for a while may be no prejudice to me at home; especially since my journey is for the improvement of learning, and for the publishing of some of those books which I have long since finished. There I shall have an opportunity of printing your Grace's Map, and of perfecting and publishing that Discourse of Dr. Bainbridge concerning the *Periodus Sothiaca*; and I hope your Grace will think of something else, in which I may be serviceable to you, and useful to the commonwealth of letters."

*Mr. <sup>b</sup> John Greaves to Usher.*

<sup>b</sup> Brother of Mr. Thomas Greaves, another of Dr. Walton's assistants.

“<sup>c</sup> Sept. 27, 1650. We have no need at all of any of *Fronto's Variæ Lectiones*: we have as good books here as any he did use; only we desired that out of our own book (the very original whereof Sir Robert Cotton so lovingly sent unto him) we might have those *διεργαφαι* transcribed for us, that are betwixt the 27th and 29th chapter of *Genesis*, which was so equal and easy a request, that we thought none could be so envious as to deny unto us. But if Sir K. Digby be in Paris, and you go to him in my name, and tell him how much it will make for the honour of this country, that we may have the benefit of it; I assure myself, his credit will reach to the borrowing of it for himself; and then it may be easily transcribed and collated; *Isaiah*, the longest book, being omitted, as already printed.” *Usher to Dr. Arnold Bootius, or Boate.*

“<sup>d</sup> Paris, November 17, 1650. By Mr. Hartlib's letter I understand, that he had received the copy of my Treatise against Cappellus, which by the opportunity of a friend I had sent him for your Lordship.—I have sent your Syriack Treas-

<sup>c</sup> Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 620.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 557. On the principal subject of this and two following letters of Dr. Boate, see particularly Dr. Walton's *Considerator considered*, chapp. iv, v.

tine of Ephraim, as likewise your *Kimchii Haddices Hebraicæ*; of which book although I have as much use as ever, and shall have as long as God giveth me life and opportunity in my studies, (in which the illustrating the Hebrew text holdeth the chief place with me,) yet I thought it unreasonable to detain it any longer from you, having had it so many years already." *Dr. Arnold Beate to Usher.*

"December 10, 1650. To the trouble that I lately offered your Grace, I beseech your pardon if I present this addition, in desiring a view of your *Varie Lectiones* of the New Testament, which I conceive fit to be looked on to prepare those notes for the press, which I have now in good part done." *Dr. Hammond to Usher.*

"London, January 14, 1650-1. The Varieties of the Readings of the New Testament, out of the Cambridge Copies, I have sent unto you; but those out of the Oxford ones, (wherein yourself had a chief hand,) I can by no means find; and do much fear that they were plundered, among my other books and papers, by the rude Welch in Glamorganshire. Yet instead thereof, I have sent unto you the *Διόρρηξις* excerpted out of the volumes, wherein the ancient

• Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 543.

† Ibid.

Edition of the Septuagint is contained." *Usher to Dr. Hammond.*

"Paris, March 25, 1651. Cappel hath written an Apologetical Epistle to you, in answer to mine Epistle against him, and somewhat about the same bulk ; the which being not only fraught with most injurious language against me, but taxing your Grace of rashness and injustice for having condemned his opinion upon my relation, I have writ an additional sheet to my former Treatise in vindication of your Grace, and of myself ; the writing and printing thereof having been dispatched in the space of three days, *ne impune veligaret caninum illud scriptum*. I am now going to write *Justum Volumen sub titulo Vindiciarum sacri textus Hebraici, contra Morinum et Cappellum junctim, in quo scripto omnes Criticæ errores, ut et scriptorum Morini, ad vivum persequar*. For these here, who vaunted of their intention of writing against Cappel, have all given over ; and <sup>a</sup> Buxtorf too

<sup>a</sup> Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 560. Cappel's Letter, addressed to the Archbishop, was entitled "*Epistola Apologetica, in qua Arnoldi Bootii temeraria Criticæ censura refellitur*." The treatise of Boate is now forgotten.

<sup>b</sup> The younger Buxtorf did assail the Critica, though generally speaking, unsuccessfully, in his *Anticritica*, &c, published in 1653.



will make no full answer to his [Cappellus's] Critica." Dr. Arnold Boate to Usher.

"June 16, 1651. Mr. Young having now done with those *Variantes Lectiones*, I send them back again unto you with much thanks. He was wonderfully taken with the perusing of them, as finding them very exactly to agree with the Alexandrian Copy, which he intendeth shortly to make publick; Mr. Selden and myself every day pressing him to the work. Neither will he be unmindful to make honourable mention of Mons. Sarrau, as he well deserveth; unto whom he acknowledgeth himself much bound for vouchsafing to communicate unto him so great a rarity.—I see by your reply, that you intend to set out a full refutation both of Cappellus's and of Morinus's particular objections against the integrity of the Hebrew text. But how you can spare so much time from your practices, I know not. Yet if you shall continue still in that mind, the *Peakter* being the only book wherein the Papists generally stand for the Greek Reading (out of which their Vulgar Latin is rendered) against the verity of the Hebrew text; I will send you Mr. William Eyre's censure upon all the particular places excepted against therein; which,

<sup>1</sup> Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 621.

forasmuch as concerneth that book, will ease you of much labour." *Usher to Dr. Arnold Boate.*

"<sup>k</sup> Paris, September 6, 1651. This proposition is so fully agreeable to mine own thoughts, and, if I be not much deceived, to truth and equity, as I do most humbly beseech your Lordship to 'accomplish it; which as you are able to do now to the full, after the perusal of all Cappellus's writings, so methinks it may be done in few words; viz. first to state the question about Cappellus's innovation, as it appeareth to you by the perusal of his works; and then to give your own judgment on the same, with a brief touch of the principal arguments which move you either to concur with, or dissent from, him or me, in any of the most material particulars.—I humbly thank your Grace for the offer of Mr. Eyre's notes on the Psalms; but if he be so wholly of Cappellus's mind in the controversy I have with him, as his Epistles to Cappellus do seem to speak him, I would not be at all beholden to him for any of his labours." *Dr. Arnold Boate to Usher.*

<sup>k</sup> Parr's Letters, ut supr. p. 566.

<sup>l</sup> The Archbishop did this in his famous letter to Cappel, printed separately, and in Parr's Collection of Letters, p. 569, et. seq. But Dr. Boate appears to have been not satisfied with his Grace's moderation. See Parr, &c. p. 583.

After these extracts, I shall offer only a few observations respecting the sentiments of archbishop *Usher* upon certain Calvinistical points of doctrine. For it has been said, that, in order the better to understand his character, his being a Calvinist in the early part of his life, and his taking afterwards the middle way betwixt the Calvinists and Arminians, should never be overlooked. And in the observations, which I shall now bring forward, Dr. Walton will be found to bear a part. I would first remark, that *Usher* is generally supposed to have disclaimed, at a *late* period of his life, notions which defended or propagated Calvinism. But in the vigour of his years and judgment, when bishop of Meath, it appears also, in the testimony which I am about to cite, that, in a very material point, he was no overbearing advocate for the cause of Calvin. These are the words; and none, who rightly understand THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, will impugn them.

“ There is an error in heart, as well as in the brain; and a kind of ignorance arising from the will, as well as from the mind. And therefore, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, all sins are termed

“ Sermon, by James Usher, Bishop of Meath, delivered before the King at Wansted, 20th June, 1624, 4th edition, p. 27.

ἀγνοήματα, ignorances, and sinners ἀγνοῦντες καὶ πλανώμενοι, ignorant and erring persons; because however, in general, the understanding may be informed rightly; yet, when particular actions come to be resolved upon, mens perverse wills and inordinate affections cloud their minds, and lead them out of the way. That therefore is to be accounted sound knowledge, which sinketh from the brain into the heart, and from thence breaketh forth into action; setting head, heart, hand, and all at work; and so much only must thou reckon thyself to know in Christianity, as thou art able to make use of in practice. For, as St. James saith of faith, Shew me thy faith by thy works; so doth he, in like manner, of knowledge: Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge amongst you? let him shew out of a good conversation his works with meekness and wisdom. And St. John, much to the same purpose: Hereby do we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him."

Other sentiments of the archbishop upon Calvinistical points are detailed in a letter from Dr. Hammond to Mr. Peter Stanihough, in 1657; which contains the sum of testimonies before given, in respect to facts, by Dr. Walton, Mr.

Peter Gunning, and Mr. Herbert Thorndike ; and, though more than once already printed, may not here be omitted.

“ “ To your queries all that I have to return is, first, that that bishop [Usher] *°did for many*

▪ Dr. Hamond's Letters, 8vo. dat. Jun. 12. 1657. Published in 1739. p. 17, et seq.

° This is to be compared with Dr. *Walton's* testimony, viz. “ This I can testify, that having *often* discourse with the late most reverend father in God, James, Lord Primate of Armagh, concerning divers controversies in divinity ; and, *in particular, the last time that he was in London*, which was *not long before his death*, concerning the controversies of Grace, and Freewill, Election, and Reprobation, and the dependents thereon ; he did declare his utter dislike of the doctrine of absolute reprobation, and that he held the universality of Christ's death ; and that, not onely in respect of sufficiency, but also in regard of efficacy, so that all men thereby were savable ; and that the reason why all were not thereby saved, was, because they did not accept of salvation offered. And that the grace of conversion was not irresistible, but that men might, and often did, resist and reject the same. And that in these points he did not approve the doctrine of Geneva, but was wholly of bishop Overall's opinion. All which I took the more notice of, because he was generally conceived to be of another judgment. And all this will be attested by BRIAN WALTON.” The Self-Revenger exemplified in Mr. William Barlee, &c. By Tho. Pierce, Rector of Brington. 4to. 1668. p. 154.

Compare also Mr. *Herbert Thorndike's* testimony. “ Calling to mind that you questioned me, whether my Lord Primate said to me, that Christ died for all *intentionally*, I

whom the Gospel was preached; ~~preaching~~ throughout this sermon the universal free invitations of all by God, Apocal. xxii. 17. Isaiah, lv. 1, 7. Adding, that, without this made good; all preaching to convert sinners as yet in their sinnes from the evil of their wayes would want a firm foundation.

“ Thirdly, that a <sup>1</sup>learned divine going after this to him, and taking rise from these words of his, [*that God intended truly that all, whom he called by the word to repent and believe, might certainly, if they would, and God truly would they should, come and repent, &c.*] to aske, Can they all will? Doth God, with his word, give internal grace to all that are called by it, that they may repent, &c. if they will, and that they certainly can will? He answered, *Yes, they all can will: And, that so many will not, 'tis because (as I then taught) they resist God's grace; alledging Acts vii. 51.* This, and much more, he then declared, and in fine concluded in these words, *Bishop Overal was in the right, and I am of his mind.*”

“ Fourthly, a <sup>1</sup>learned doctor, that was frequently with the bishop, wrote Mr. Pierce word, (as he wrote to me, on my asking him the same

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Walton. See before, p. 205.

<sup>1</sup> The same.

question which you do me,) that that bishop told him lately, before his death, that he wholly disliked the Geneva form of doctrine in this matter."

III. The assistance of Mr. *Herbert Thorndike* next solicits our attention. Dr. Twells, in his life of Pocock, has described Mr. *Thorndike* and Dr. Walton maintaining frequent correspondence, upon the subject of the Polyglot, with that great orientalist. And the thanks of Dr. Walton, in his Preface, are bestowed upon *Thorndike*, with this distinction of him, *linguarum scientia celebris*. Besides his general attention to the undertaking, there are in the sixth volume of the Polyglot particular proofs of his great diligence and learning, in the collection of *Variantes in Syriaca Versione Veteris Testamenti Lectiones à Codicibus MSS.*

Mr. *Herbert Thorndike* has been 'considered as a native of Scamblesby, in the county of Lincoln. He was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1613, and was made fellow of that society in 1618. He took the degree of M. A. in 1620, and was appointed one of the University preachers in 1631. In 1643 he 'obtained the greater number of votes for the headship of Sid-

' Dr. Twells's Life of Pocock, §. 3.

' Dr. Pope's Life of Bp. Ward, p. 14.

ney College, but was nevertheless compelled to yield the honour to Dr. Minshull. He had been <sup>▪</sup> possessed of the benefice of Claybrook in Leicestershire, where he built one of the best and most beautiful parsonage-houses in the county; and afterwards held the rectory of Barley in Hertfordshire; but is <sup>▪</sup> said to have experienced the common fate of those clergy who adhered to the King and the Church in the Great Rebellion, and to have been deprived of all his preferments. In this distress he was one of the many learned and dignified Clergy <sup>▪</sup> relieved by the munificence of Lord Scudamore. In 1661 he was rewarded with a prebend of Westminster, and recovered also his fellowship at Cambridge; thenceforward <sup>▪</sup> dividing his time between the two, and not retaining his rectory after the year 1662. He was also one of the Commissioners on the part of the Established Church, at the Savoy Conference. He declined the advantage of a royal mandate for the degree of doctor in divinity; and died in 1672. Upon his grave-stone, in Westminster Abbey, he directed an inscription to be put, of which the concluding part was pretended, by malice or ignorance, to be a proof that he was popishly affected; a slander also levelled, on a similar occa-

<sup>▪</sup> Kennet's Reg. p. 853.

<sup>▪</sup> Twells, ut supr.

<sup>▪</sup> Kennet, p. 861.

<sup>▪</sup> Twells, ut supr.



sion, against \* another of our great divines. The words were these: "Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndike, Præbendarii hujus Ecclesiæ, qui vivus veram *Reformatæ Ecclesiæ* rationem ac modum precibus studiisque prosequabatur. *Tu, Lector, requiem ei et beatam in Christo resurrectionem precare.*" As if a good Protestant might not be requested to offer up his prayer to God, that they, who are departed in the true faith of his holy Name, may have their perfect consummation and bliss in heaven, he with them, and they with him! But censure spared not Mr. *Thorndike* either dead or living. "From reproaches of ill men the best of the Clergy could not be safe; neither Mr. Oley, nor Mr. *Thorndike*, nor Mr. Thircross; nor any of those great men, who with incomparable sanctity of life have adorned this worst age, altogether worthy of a better." Numbered with the excellent Hammond, and Taylor, and others, as the most learned and best beloved children of the Church of England, Mr. *Thorndike* did not, however, escape the insinuation of leaning to the Church of Rome, in his zealous expressions of utter aver-

\* Dr. Isaac Barrow, bishop of St. Asaph. See Wood's Ath. Ox. . . .

\* Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 338.

\* Serm. by T. Conyers before General Monk, Feb. 12, 1659. Apology prefixed. See Kennet, p. 58.

sion to the sectaries of his time. But to this insinuation the learned author himself gave an answer, not long before his death, "in his *Judgment of the Church of Rome*." Out of this little work I select two passages, which at once mark the estimation in which he held the religion of Papists.

"To pray to them [the Saints] for those things which only God can give, (as all Papists do,) is by the proper sense of their words downright idolatry. If they say their meaning is by a figure only to desire them to procure their requests of God; *how dare any Christian trust his soul with that Church, which teaches that which must needs be idolatry in all that understand not the figure!*—

"There is both Scripture and tradition for the Scriptures and service in a known tongue, and for the Eucharist in both kinds. *How then can*

\* This was delivered by him in a paper to a lady a little before his death, as printed in a book entitled, *Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatick Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, &c.* 1679; and reprinted by Dr. George Hickes, in the Appendix to his *Letters*, 1706; "*reprinted,*" says that great scholar, "*because many misapplied and wrested passages have of late been cited out of his works in the late Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion, which with all its arts, contrivances, and fallacies, is one of the best evidences I know of a necessity of reformation in the doctrine, worship, and government, of the Church of Rome.*" Dr. Hickes's Pref.

*any Christian trust his soul with that Church, which hath the conscience to bar him of such helps provided by God !”*

After this important statement, I shall only add, that to those who would rightly understand the question, formerly much agitated, concerning the Rights of the Christian Church, his ‘works may be safely commended. He appears to have been a correspondent of Lightfoot, as well as Pocock, upon subjects of biblical learning. His ‘benefactions, by will, to certain vicarages in the counties of Cambridge and Lincoln, bespeak him a man of wealth as well as an affectionate son of the Church of England.

From a letter of Mr. *Thorndike* to archbishop Usher, dated Nov. 10, 1655, we gather some

‘ Viz. Of the Government of Churches, Camb. 1641.

Of Religious Assemblies and the Public Service of God, Camb. 1642.

A Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State, Lond. 1649.

Mr. Thorndike published also, in 1659, An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England; and in 1670, a Discourse of the Forbearance, or the Penalties, which a due Reformation requires. Of these the former is said to have given much offence. See Life of Dr. Barwick, &c. p. 401.

‘ Kennet’s Case of Impropriations and Augmentations of Vicarages, &c. p. 285, et seq.

interesting particulars respecting Dr. Walton and the Polyglot.

“ ‘ My Lord, I have dealt with Dr. Walton, as in a business that I am affected with. He shewed the difficulty to be doubled by the Arabick following the Roman Copy. I proposed to change the order of the Roman Copy, retaining the Text. To which he answered, upon consideration, that the inconvenience was incurred already, because many transpositions are passed in the *Kings* and *Proverbs*, so that it is too late to avoid it in *Jeremy*. I proposed to print a two-fold Greek; one, to answer the Hebrew out of the Antwerp Copy; another, to answer the Arabick in a space below. But he stood so hard upon the foresaid reasons, that I am afraid I shall not prevail. As for Manasseh Ben Israel, I had agreed with Dr. Walton upon a day and hour to go to him. But meeting him occasionally the day before, he proposed to him, but could not learn from any thing that he knew, concerning any received number of marginal readings. And for the saying of Elias, he utterly slighted it; not acknowledging, or not discovering any thing he knew of it. Hereupon, I thought it not fit for me, equally a stranger to him, to meet him in the same thing, till I have got some introduction to

<sup>1</sup> Parr's Lett. of Abp. Usher, &c. p. 618.

him, (for I hear he is like to stay here a time,) and then I shall remember your question of R. Judah, which I count desperate, unless Broughton had told us what he hath written, or that he is one of them that are recorded in the Talmud."

IV. Of the assistance contributed to Dr. Walton by Dr. *Edward Pocock*, some notice has already been taken. Dr. Twells, the biographer of this most eminent orientalist, has detailed other particulars as to this assistance, which, after a brief review of his life, may here be copied.

He was born in 1604, and at the early age of fourteen became a member of Magdalene College, in Oxford, whence he removed to Corpus Christi College, and became, lastly, a canon of Christ-Church. At the early age of twenty-four he acquired great reputation, at home and abroad, by publishing <sup>a</sup> four Epistles, and the Book of the Revelation, which were wanting to a complete edition of the New Testament in the Syriac language. In 1629 he was appointed chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo. To whom he was indebted for that appointment, his biographer cannot say; but shews that Laud, the munificent patron of learning, and then, as bishop of Lon-

<sup>a</sup> See before, pp. 58, 59.

<sup>b</sup> Viz. the 2d of Peter, the 2d and 3d of John, and that of Jude. See also Abp. Usher's Letters on this subject, already cited.

don, having the direction of religious affairs abroad, however he might naturally be supposed to have recommended him, had no acquaintance with him till late in the year 1631. I am inclined to suppose that archbishop Usher was the friend of *Pocock* upon this occasion. For 'application was certainly made to that prelate, to whom indeed the merchants had referred the choice of their chaplain, for another person to fill that office, which was not successful; for a person too, whom I imagine to be him of the \* same name, whom we shall presently find one of the assistants of Dr. Walton. *Pocock* returned to England in 1636, but soon afterwards made another voyage to the East, in company with the learned Mr. John Greaves, and continued there four years; attaining a perfect knowledge of the Arabic tongue, and improving himself in other oriental languages which he had before studied at Oxford. In short, he became a master not only of Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac, but was also well skilled in the Samaritan, Persic, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Turkish tongues. He had been employed, whilst abroad, to collect manuscripts and coins for archbishop Laud; by whom he had been ap-

<sup>1</sup> Parr's Lett. of Abp. Usher, &c. p. 411. See the application in the notice of Mr. Johnson, in a subsequent page.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Johnson.

pointed in 1636 to read the Arabic Lecture at Oxford, (then newly founded by his Grace,) and from whom he had received permission to appoint Mr. Thomas Greaves, another of the coadjutors in the Polyglot, his deputy. "I gave Mr. Pocock leave," says this munificent prelate, "to travel to Constantinople and the Eastern parts, *for the better perfecting himself in the Arabick and Eastern languages; and I allowed him the stipend of the Lecture towards his travels;*" his Grace paying, no doubt, according to his abundant, accustomed, and discerning liberality, the deputy himself.

In 1643, Mr. *Pocock* was presented to the rectory of Childrey in Berkshire; from which he had nearly been ejected by Cromwell's commissioners; upon which subject the ejected Dr. Walton thus addressed him. "I have heard lately (which I should wonder at, if any thing in these times was to be wondered at,) that some malicious persons trouble you upon the ordinance for ejecting ministers. If it be true, I hope God will deliver you from unreasonable and absurd men." In this instance he was delivered from them. Charges, which had been produced against him

<sup>1</sup> Abp. Laud's History of his Chancellorship of Oxford, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Twells's Life of Pocock, §. 3.

before the commissioners, having fallen to the ground; “<sup>a</sup> at length *insufficiency* was pitched upon to bear him down: whereupon Dr. Owen, who was one of the number, could not forbear to say, that they took the ready way to make themselves *infamous*; the person, whom they were now censuring in this manner, *being of such extraordinary learning, as was famous through the world.*”

Of his canonry of Christ Church, to which with the Hebrew professorship he had been appointed in 1648, he was, however, deprived; because he refused to take the Solemn League and Covenant. He recovered this dignity at the Restoration, and then took the degree of doctor in divinity; but neither sought nor obtained any other preferment. He died in 1691. He published, besides the Syriac Version already noticed, the Arabic Annals of Eutychius; Specimen Hist. Arabum; the Porta Mosis of Maimonides; and Commentaries on Micah, Malachi, Hosea, and Joel.

The further share of this most eminent scholar in the Polyglot was as follows.

“<sup>a</sup> He informed Dr. Walton about one necessary point; namely, the antiquity and autho-

<sup>a</sup> Walker's Suff. of the Clergy, P. II. p. 104.

<sup>o</sup> Twells's Life of Pocock, §. 3.



rity of the Arabic Version as it stands in Le Jay's Polyglot; Dr. Walton having conceived, that the editor of that work had followed that Arabic Version which the French ambassador brought out of the East, which Sionita and Esaronita were then translating into Latin, and which Erpenius says is *elegans et antiqua*: but Mr. Pocock convinced him, that the Arabic, in Le Jay's edition, was no other than the Version of Saadiah, which is printed in the Constantinopolitan Bible. Dr. Walton desired further to know what Copies, or ancient Manuscripts, of Oriental Versions, were in the public library at Oxford, or in Mr. Pocock's own private collection. From the latter came a very good supply: as, first, the Gospels in Persian, which had never before been printed, were now published wholly from a copy that was sent in by him, being a Manuscript, above 300 years old, of a Translation made from the Syriac, and one, therefore, preferred to Mr. Wheelock's, which was of later date, and only a Version from the Greek.

† See Pref. in Bib. Polygl. "11. His addidimus Psalterium Æthiopicum, &c. 12. Evangelia Quatuor Persica, &c." See also Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. "Præfatio Edwardi Pocockii, &c. in qua variantium in Pentateucho Arabico lectionum ratio redditur;" et Variæ Lect. seq. and Dr. Walton's Considerator considered, chap. ix. §. 2.

2dly. His Syriac Manuscript of the whole Old Testament, and two other Manuscripts of the Psalms in the same language ; the supply of which was the most seasonable, because one of Primate Usher's Syriac Copies of the Pentateuch was in the hands of Dr. Boate, then in France ; who, soon after the beginning of this work, died there. So that if ever this Manuscript was recovered, it came too late for the service of the Polyglot edition. And though the Lord Primate's other Copy is declared by Mr. Thorne-dike to be more trusty than Mr *Pocock's*, yet he owns it was sometimes to be helped by it. And with respect to that part which corresponds with the second tome, Dr. Walton professes that they found his Copy to be more exactly written than the Lord Primate's, and therefore more useful. 3dly. An Ethiopic Manuscript of the Psalter, which Dr. Walton pronounces to be so exactly written, that they made it a rule by which to correct the faults of the two printed Copies."

The numerous and very valuable Oriental Manuscripts of Dr. *Pocock* were purchased by the University of Oxford in 1692.

V. The important contribution, which the celebrated Dr. *John Lightfoot* brought to the Polyglot, of Syriac Manuscripts ; his zeal in procuring subscriptions for the work ; and his chorographical

observations prefixed to it; we have 'already found occasion to describe. Dr. Walton also, in the sixth volume of his work, acknowledges the benefit of Dr. *Lightfoot's* collation in part of the Hebrew Pentateuch with the Samaritan. His great assistance also to Dr. Castell we cannot but have admired. The progress of the Polyglot was a theme, upon which when Vice-Chancellor, in 1655, he expatiated in a kind of transport at the Cambridge-commencement. " ' Under the now despised and trampled-on English Clergy," he said, " hath grown up that noble issue of learning, the edition of the Polyglot Bible, and still it grows; than which the learned world hath scarce ever seen any thing more generous, nor the English nation any thing to itself more honourable; a work of eternal fame; *a memorial, to endure to everlasting ages, of the English Clergy's great learning, zeal, and trust in God, the protector of learning, when now it lay under*

<sup>1</sup> See before, pp. 66, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's Life of Lightfoot, p. xx. " Sic sub protritō et proculcato statu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, et adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, Editio Bibliorum multi-linguū, qua quid generosius vix vidit unquam Respublica literaria, nec quicquam Anglia sibi honorificentius; opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum, summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo, bonarum literarum protectore, fiduciæ Cleri Anglicani jam tum summè periclitantis, &c."

*mighty hazard.* Go on, ye reverend and learned men, who are sweating in so brave a work. Proceed, as ye do, to raise trophies to yourselves and your country; and by your labours let the English nation's fame for its learning and literature be proclaimed."

Dr. *Lightfoot* was born in 1602, at Stoke-upon-Trent, in Staffordshire, and was educated at Christ College, in Cambridge. In the study of rabbinical learning he is said to have been first engaged by Sir Rowland Cotton, (to whom he was chaplain,) who greatly assisted him in the Hebrew. By this gentleman he was presented to the rectory of Ashley, in Staffordshire; where he applied himself most successfully to the study of the Scriptures, and in the course of a few years gave many public proofs of learning, diligence, and judgment. To Sir Rowland Cotton he dedicated his first work, *Erubim or Miscellanies Christian and Judaical*, in 1629; of which, in the Preface, he modestly says; "If this my youthfull attempt shall provoke any one that is young to emulation in the holy tongues, I shall think I have gained." In these *Miscellanies* he was "studious in collecting from the

\* He studiously also recommended this practice. See *Othonis Lexicon Rabbinico-Philologicum*, Genev. 1676.

Jewish stores, what was valuable in rabbinical expositions; in which method he and Dr. Po-

Præf. sign. b. "Præcipue hujus nostri propositi ratio, et quæ primo loco dicenda fuisset, est consilium clariss. viri D. Lightfooti; qui in Hebraicis doctissimus, &c. cujus auctoritatem semper magni habui, et à quo me plurima didicisse hîc grato animo agnosco. Is, cum Oxonii hærerem, humanissimis suis literis mihi petenti, *quid præcipue in Hebraismo utiliter et cum fructu tentari posset*, respondit; *se nihil scire quo magis studium Hebraicum adjuvari posset, quam si quis Talmud utrumque, præcipue Hierosolymitanum, legeret; et in codicillos ordine alphabetico conjiceret quicquid aut ad historiam, aut ritus veterum Hebræorum explandos faceret; unumquemque deinde ea, quæ in eum usum facient, inde exprimere posse.*"

It may be worth mentioning that, in the year in which Mr. Lightfoot published his Miscellanies, there issued from the Paris press "*Veterum Rabbinorum in exponendo Pentateucho Modi Tredecim*; quorum explicatio lucem maximam afferet iis, qui legem accuratè volunt interpretari, et scripta rabbinorum faciliè intelligere." 8vo. Lut. Par. 1629.

A very curious epistle is prefixed to the work, which must have greatly pleased Mr. Lightfoot. I venture, however, to recommend, in the pursuit of this study, the careful reading also of *Commentatio de Erroribus qui in Interpretationem V. T. à Judæis manarunt*, divided into eight sections, of great importance, as follows: "1. Errores à Judæis in Hermeneuticam V. T. manasse, generatim affignatur. 2. Fons horum errorum ostenditur, hique ipsi nominatim narrantur. 3. Error primus spectatur in usu artis criticæ à V. T. arcendo. 4. Nec minùs in malè tractandis, quæ ad eam præstò essent, subsidiis. 5. Alter error

cock are generally considered to have excelled all others. Nor has he forgotten, in this valuable little book, to express his acknowledgments to ' Bedwell for instruction in the Arabic tongue. He was afterwards " rector of Great Munden in Hertfordshire. But in 1642 he came to London, and was chosen minister of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was also " nominated, by the members for the county of Stafford, one of the Assembly of Divines, with whom he once " sacrificed his learning and judgment to the bigotry, prevalent amongst them, against the Apocrypha. By the parliamentary

consistit in nimio mysteria et emphases consecrandi studio<sup>†</sup> et quidem in singulis literis. 6. Studium mysteria et emphases consecrandi in integris vocabulis. 7. Error tertius sensum V. T. multiplicem reddit, et omnia allegoriis replet. 8. Conclus." See E. H. Frommanni, Theol. Doct. Opusc. Philog. 12mo. Coburgi, 1770, vol. i. p. 82, et seq. The author takes occasion, in the fourth section, to reflect on a want of judgment and skill in Hugh Broughton and Henry Ainsworth, of whom mention has before been made in these Memoirs. See p. 124.

<sup>†</sup> See before, p. 107.

<sup>‡</sup> Chauncy's History of Hertfordshire, p. 342.

<sup>§</sup> The names of the orthodox divines, &c. 1642, ut supr.

<sup>||</sup> Dr. Grey, in his notes on Hudibras, has given an extract from a sermon, by Dr. Lightfoot, in proof of this. Hudibras, P. III. C. II. ver. 629.

visitors he was preferred, in 1653, to the mastership of Catharine Hall, in Cambridge; which he offered to resign at the Restoration. But both in that, and in his benefice, he was confirmed by the king. And to those preferments was added, in 1667, a prebend in the cathedral of Ely. He died in 1675. His works, which are a treasury of sacred criticism, were published in two volumes at London, in 1684; and in a third by Leusden, at Utrecht, in 1699. His *Horæ Hebraicæ*, the most valued of his productions, were published separately in 1648, 1663, 1671, and 1674. A volume of his remains in tracts, and notes on Scripture, was also published in 1700. He was one of the commissioners at the Savoy Conference, on the side of the Presbyterians; but, † Baxter says, he attended it only once or twice. To the edition of his works, in 1684, a slight account of his life is prefixed by Dr. Bright, the editor; which is greatly enlarged by Strype.

VI. In Mr. *Thomas Greaves*, whom I next mention, we shall find an assistant to Dr. Walton of very great value; whom, however, in the Preface to the Polyglot, Dr. Walton has mistakenly called Mr. *John Greaves*, who was his very

† History of his Life, &c. P. II. p. 307.

learned brother, but not professor of Arabic, as there described. Indeed, Mr. <sup>a</sup> John Greaves died before the proposals for Dr. Walton's Bible were circulated. But it is sufficient to refer to the sixth volume of this Bible, in which we find, with his name properly given, *Thomæ Grævii Observationes quædam in Persicam Pentateuchi Versionem*. Of this Version by Tawosus, Tavusius, or Tusius, (as the name has been differently written,) an account has <sup>a</sup> already been given. The observations of Mr. Greaves are a specimen of an intended dissertation upon the Version, which he <sup>b</sup> reserved for a projected sup-

<sup>a</sup> See the Life of this great oriental scholar, mathematician, and antiquary, in Dr. Ward's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 135—152; Mr. John Greaves having been Professor of Geometry in that college. He was also Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. He was the friend of Pocock. He died in October, 1652.

<sup>a</sup> This translator was a Jew, of the city of Tus. Walton's *Prolegomena*, ch. xvi. §. 7.

<sup>b</sup> See the *Bib. Polygl.* vol. vi. “*Quinque Mosis libros in Persicam linguam traduxit Jacobus Tusensis, (qui vulgò Tawosus audit,) cujus versio superiori seculo (an. scil. 1551,) Constantinopoli excusa est, additis etiam Chaldaee Onkelusii Paraphrasi, et R. Saadiae Arabica interpretatione, quæ omnia Hebraicis duntaxat, non Persarum aut Arabum propriis characteribus, exarata sunt. Est autem, ut rectè censet Lud. de Dieu, Versio non contemnenda, quæque lectori Sacrarum literarum, et Persicæ linguæ studioso, utilis*



plement to the Polyglot. To these observations he added *Annotationes quædam in Persicam*

admodum esse potest ; ideoque vir præstantissimus *Br. Waltonus* suæ Bibliorum *αδελυγλῶτῶν* editione adjungi dignam censuit. Multa quidem de ea ejusdem viri rogatu, atque ut mihinet ipsi satisfacerem, observari, quæ memoriæ atque ordinis causa ad certa quædam capita seu classes redegi ; quorum brevem hic indicem subijcere visum est, ut videat lector quæ potissimum in hoc opere animadvertere oporteat, de quibus aut ego (si Deus facultatem concesserit) alibi fusiùs disseram, aut saltem alius quispiam, harum literarum peritus, non inutiliter uberiores tractatum conficere possit.

“ Sic autem mihi commodissimè distribui posse videntur.

“ 1. *De locis quibusdam difficilioribus à Persico interprete illustratis.*

“ 2. *Loca in quibus Rabbīnorum traditiones et placita, potius quàm Hebraicum textum, sequitur.*

“ 3. *Loca in quibus Hebraismi nimis tenax videtur.*

“ 4. *Peculiares quædam interpretationes et locutiones hinc scriptori usitatæ.*

“ 5. *Discrepantiæ insigniores, et loca in quibus ab aliis interpretibus recedit.*

“ 6. *Loca prætermissa, et sine interpretatione relictæ.*

“ 7. *De Latina hujus Versionis interpretatione.*

“ 8. *De erroribus ex vocum ambiguitate enatis, aliisque locis emendatione indigentibus.*

“ De hisce omnibus, aliisque nonnullis, ad opus hoc pertinentibus, multa in adversariis meis annotata habeo, quæ in aliud tempus et volumen reservanda sunt, ne ultimus hic Sacri operis tomus, eruditis aliorum observationibus relictus, in molem nimiam et enormem excrescat. Specimen tamen exiguum, et veluti gustum, hîc exhibere licuit.”

*Interpretationem Evangeliorum* ; of which himself has <sup>c</sup> spoken with great diffidence ; but which are pronounced by Dr. Walton, in his Preface, as most learned ; and by Mr. Clarke, in the sixth volume of the Polyglot, as exquisite.

He was born at Colmore <sup>d</sup>, in Hampshire ; and in 1627 was admitted a scholar of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford. Of that society he became fellow in 1636, and about the same time deputy reader of the Arabic Lecture, in the absence of

<sup>c</sup> Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. "Doctissimo viro *Briano Waltono*, S. T. D. *Thomas Gravius* Salutem. Animadversiones quasdam in Sacra Evangelia, Persicam in linguam traducta, et tuis auspiciis luce donata, ut tibi et aliis communicarem, nuper efflagitasti. Desiderio tuo obsecutus Annotationes hasce tibi legendas, et (quod maximè cupio) exacta judicii tui lance trutinandas, misi, ut, tuo calculo et suffragio probatæ, aliorum censuram minus reformident. *Utinam majori opera tibi gratificari, et publicum commodum, cui tu labores tuos et studia devovisti, promovere possem.*—Nam temporis angustias quibus constringor, et occupationes meas singulis septimanis in orbem recurrentes, tute et alii cognoscunt. Illud prætereà mihi incommodum accidit, quòd ab urbe vestra et Academiis remoto exemplaria quædam, ad hoc opus idonea, defuerint ; ideoque perplexius iter fuit cùm manuscriptos Evangeliorum Codices, tanquam viæ duces, nullos haberem. *Dunsbiæ* in Agro Lincolnensi, xi. Kal. Jan. 1657."

<sup>d</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox. and Ward's Lives of the Gresh. Prof.

Mr. Pocock. He was rector of Dunsby, in Lincolnshire, from which place he dates his letter to Dr. Walton, just cited in the note below, upon the subject of the Persic Version of the Gospels. Soon after the Restoration, he took the degree of doctor in divinity, having been promoted by the king to the rectory of North Berkhamsted, in Hertfordshire; and in 1666 he was presented to a prebend in the church of Peterborough. He had been \* dispossessed of his fellowship by the parliamentary visitors in 1648. He died in 1676; leaving behind him the † character of a man of great piety, an excellent philosopher and philologist, and a master in Oriental learning. Of his moderation, as well as his learning and piety, there is proof in a letter which he addressed to Baxter, preserved by Dr. Birch in the ‡ life of his brother Mr. John Greaves. He published a Latin Oration, delivered at Oxford, July 19, 1637, “*de Linguæ Arabicæ utilitate et præstantia* ;” in which, § agreeing with the great professor, whom he represented, he informs us that the

\* Walker, Suff. of the Clergy, P. II. p. 112.

† A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

‡ Prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works.

§ Pocock, Præf. in Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 9. “*Sunt Arabibus, in omni literarum genere, gazæ nondum reclusæ, &c.*” Compare also Castell’s remarks, already noticed, in this volume.

Arabians are furnished with libraries sufficient to satisfy the most ardent desire for books, and to illustrate every branch of learning. While discharging the office of Arabic Lecturer for Mr. Pocock, he was honoured with the confidence of Archbishop Laud; from whom he received the following letter, dated November 1, 1639,

“<sup>1</sup> Sir,

“ I would have you send me word in what state my Arabick Lecture stands at Oxford, on what days and hours you read, and what ordinances are made (if any be) by which you guide yourself in that business: And further, I would have you set me down what statutes may be necessary to govern that Lecture in the perpetuating of it, in case it should please God to make me able to do it. I pray do this with as much convenient speed as you can, and privately, without noise. So to God’s blessing and protection, &c.

“ *W. Cant.*”

The Oriental Manuscripts of Mr. *Thomas Greaves* are now in the Bodleian Library.

VII. Of Mr. *Abraham Wheelock*, the first professor of the Arabic and Saxon tongues in the

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Laud’s History of his Chancellorship of Ox. p. 174.

University of Cambridge, we have already witnessed the <sup>k</sup> zeal in promoting the Polyglot, the <sup>l</sup> care which he had employed upon the Samaritan Version, and the <sup>m</sup> critical suggestion which he offered as to the whole work. He was, in conjunction with Dr. Castell, to have corrected the Syriac and Arabic at the press ; but he died just before the first volume of the Bible was committed to the printer. Dr. Walton notices him in his Preface, among those to whom he was particularly obliged ; and, in the sixth volume, <sup>n</sup> desires the reader to consult Mr. *Wheelock's* Persian Gospels in reading the Annotations, which follow, of Mr. Thomas Greaves.

Mr. *Wheelock* was born at Loppington in Shropshire ; and was a member first of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards (in 1619) fellow of Clare Hall. He was appointed one of the University Preachers in 1623 ; and was also

<sup>k</sup> See his Letter to Dr. Minshull in this volume, p. 55. See also p. 54.

<sup>l</sup> See Dr. Walton's Letter to Abp. Usher in this volume, p. 64.

<sup>m</sup> Dr. Walton's Letter, ut supr. p. 65.

<sup>n</sup> "Consulat Lector Persicam Versionem, doctissimi viri *Abr. Wheelock* opera continuatam ; quam morte præreptus imperfectam et semianimem reliquit ; quod verò nunc vita et luce fruatur, clarissimo viro *Thomæ Adams*, harum literarum eximio fautori, debemus."

Keeper of the Public Library there. Whilst attending to the business of printing his Persian Gospels in London, he there, died in September 1653. He had written in the earlier part of that year to Dr. Minshull, the Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge; and in his letter we find, that, like the other loyal and learned ecclesiastics of the time, he was not in easy circumstances.

“ • Reverend Sir,

“ Before I have paid the old score of your manie favours, I am constrained daylie to increase the former. The place I live in is very chargeable; and my taske and labour, heavie and expensive, will easilie plead for me before such a judge as your worthie selfe, whom I ever presumed on as my advocate; and now, in your place, to me, as to all the rest under you, a patrone. I beseech you, Sir, let not the Statutes concerning the Head Librarie-Keeper be so præjudicialle penned, as to hinder me in my abode here during anie imploiment, that in reference to academical learninge I am here called to. I am tied by my places as Librarie-Keeper, and Amanuensis to the Librarie, to promote and assist what I can the publishing of the Saxon and Oriental antiquities. The Universitie will not (I hope) de-

nie the patrones of the Arabick and Saxon Lectures leave for me to serve God, and the Universitie, in this place; where I sit in an obscure and litle cell, free from bitter taunts and checks; which my best friends, yourselfe in cheife there, were loath I should be afflicted with. I have some rents due to me in Cambridge; but I am shamefullie put off with much scorne. The God of patience will enable us to beare more, which we must daylie look for.

"Be pleased, Sir, to consider, that for the Librarian's place, and the Amanuensis', (who is to set forth Manuscripts in print, which I am now about,) I receive from the hands of the Right Worshipfull Mr. Vice-Chancellor per annum 10*l.* that is 5*l.* at Michaelmas, (which this year I did then receive,) and 5*l.* at Ladie Day in Lent. I make bold, Reverend Sir, to desier you, that this yong man (under me in the Librarie) Ric. Butler, of King's College, may subscribe for the receipt thereof. I shall, as long as breth shall last, pray for you and the Universitie.

"Sir,

"From your humble servant,

"*Abraham Wheelock.*

"Little Britaine, Mar. 17. 1652. [1652-3.]"

His death occasioned a memorial, or eulogium, of him ; in which, with much feeling and spirit, he has been thus characterized.

“<sup>p</sup> For his theologicall part, a divine of orthodox judgment ; of a godly, an exemplary, and a winning conversation ; abhorring covetousnesse ; who did both ἐρθεσμεῖν, and also ἐρθεποδεῖν, rightly divide that word of truth, after which he walked with strait steps to his feet. We might have read in his pale countenance the expresse characters of his unwearied industry and studies. He carried mortification in his very looks ; continuing, without interruption, a constant and peacefull son of the Church of England.—

“Those γῖνη γλῶσσῶν, mentioned by the learned Apostle, diversities, or kinds of tongues, he was, in much variety, from heaven superlatively endowed with, by the gift of God’s Spirit ; he being so eminent a linguist, he might have said, (without envy or disparagement to any be it spoken,) *I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than most of them all* ; the intricacies whereof he had a faculty, and withal a facility, to finde out, and to make pervious ; elucidating what

<sup>p</sup> The Crowne of Righteousness, &c. As laid forth in a sermon, preached in St. Botolph’s, Aldersgate, Lond. Sep. 26, 1653, at the solemn funerall of Mr. Abraham Wheelock, B. D. &c. Whereunto is added an Encomium of him. By William Sclater, D. D. &c. 4to. Lond. 1654.



was obscure ; enucleating what was hard ; that as the Jewish rabbins, so oft as they met with texts which were (as St. Peter saith of some things in St. Paul's Epistles) *duriora*, hard to be understood, were wont to shut up all their discourse with this, *Elias cum venerit solvet dubia*, Elias shall answer this doubt when he comes ; in like sort was he as another Elias to the doubts and difficulties of many, who, being accurate in the rabbinical learning, were very well able to judge, gave him this testimony a good while since in print ; that scarcely any thing that way proved too hard for him, for his enodation or decision.—

“ That which I observed worthy of universall imitation in him was, under his many and exceeding abilities, his humble and exceeding modestie ; so that others took more notice of him, than he did of himselfe ; much like to the violet, a flower of a sweet and delicious scent, yet groweth least in the garden, covering itselfe often with its owne leaves : howbeit, as the odoriferous fragrancy thereof cannot but be discovered ; so he, together with his accomplishments, could not be concealed ; yea, as Syracides said of Simon, the son of Onias, he was as the morning-star in the midst of a cloud. His sufficiencies, and withal his integrity, having made him thus known, to his custody and oversight were committed the rich treasures of learning laid up in the choice Library of

the University of Cambridge. And about two and twenty yeares past, beyond his owne expectation, though not beyond his merit, he was chosen the first publique Professor and Reader of Arabick there; a lecture first founded at the sole and proper charges of an eminent and truly religious gentleman of this citie of London, Mr. Alderman <sup>1</sup> Thomas Adams, who ever since continued it by

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Thomas Adams, and Lord Mayor of London; a man of great liberality, and a patron of oriental learning. Castell dedicated to him his Oration upon the Arabic language. He not only caused Mr. *Wheelock's* Persian Gospels to be published, but he judiciously sent the publication also to the East. Dr. Twells, in his *Life of Pocock*, says, that "Castell became the first settled Arabic lecturer, at Cambridge, by an instrument under the hand of Sir Thomas Adams, the founder, dated June 20, 1666, after a thirteen years' vacancy of that lecture, which, during Mr. *Wheelock's* life, had been voluntary only." *Life of Pocock*, §. 3. There remains, however, a record, in the Lambeth Library, of Sir Thomas Adams's intention at a much earlier period; and which is not in unison with the rest of Dr. Twells's statement. It is numbered among the Lambeth MSS. 1048. b. art. 11.

"To our very lovinge and much respected friend Mr. Thomas Adams, att his house in Gracious Street, in London.

"Worthy Sir,

"Having these foure years enjoyed your bountifull exhibition for the maintenance of a Professor for the Arabick tongue in our Universitie, and now alsoe understand your pious desire for settling of it for perpetuity; we cannot but

his bounty to him of full 40*l.* per annum. To this worthy citizen, of so high a reputation, must be added the example of a noble knight; to whom, and to whose heires, inheriting his learn-

return you the Scholar's tribute of thanks and honour due to soe noble a benefactor, and shall uppon any intimation from you be ready to serve you with our best counsels and indeavours for the improving it to those good ends to which you intend it. The worke itselfe we conceive to tend not only to the advancement of good literature, by bringing to light much knowledge which is as yet lockt upp in that learned tongue, but alsoe to the service [of] the King and State in our commerce with those Easterne nations, and in God's good tyme to the enlarging of Christian Religion to them who now sitt in darknesse. The gentilman you have pitched uppon for your professor, Mr. *Abraham Wheelocke*, we doe every way approve of, both for his abilities, and for his faithfull pains and diligence in that employment. God prosper the worke according unto your pious intentions, and render a full reward of it to you and yours, making your memory, as the memories of all our famous benefactors, ever pretious amonge us: It is the heartie desire and prayers of

" Your very loving friends,

" Dated at the  
Consistory,  
May 9th,  
1636.

Henry Smith, procan :  
Samuell Ward,  
S. Collens,  
Tho: Bainbrigg,  
Gu: Beale,  
Tho. Batchcrofts,  
Willm. Sandcrofte,  
Rich<sup>d</sup>. Stearne,  
Edward Martin."

ing and virtues as well as his lands, the commonwealth of literature rests deeply engaged; by name, Sir Henry Spelman, of pious memory; who, at his owne cost, first erected, about ten yeares past, a Saxon lecture in the same University, establishing it by an annuall pension of 20*l.* which was seconded by his learned son, and since continued by his grand-child, a gentleman of gallant ingenuity. And this lecture also was first publicly read by this same Professor: both which he discharged with so compleat abilities, as found acceptation of all, admiration of many, hopes of imitation but in a few. Yet this was not all; but as when the clouds are full they drop down, the eares shed, and the fountaines flow out; even so his goodnesse became still diffusive, and was very communicative to others, even to the most distant and remote nations: for which purpose he spent himselfe, as a candle in the socket, to the very last blaze, whilst he was here [in London] publishing the Four Gospels of our Saviour, with acute and solid annotations, in the Persian tongue; in the progresse of which work, it pleased God to call him home to his happinesse with himself in heaven.—

“ And that which yet further adds a lustre to his praises, is the ample testimony given of him,

‘ Mr. *Wheelock* was one of Archbishop Usher’s correspon-

both living and dying, by that oracle of all imaginable learning, that full magazine of all sanctified devotion, the glory of the Church of England, the wonder of Christendome, and the triumph of the holy angels who guard and protect him for good, Dr. Usher, the Lord Primate of Armagh; as likewise by that famous antiquary, and living library, Mr. Selden, of whose tran-

dents. In 1625 we find him informing the Primate, that "the fellows of Emmanuel College had not the Talmud which his Lordship desired;" that he "wished he had that table wherein his Lordship had compared the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabet, which sheweth plainly the right pronunciation of the *א*, *ב*, and the whole consent of the rest;" and that it "would give great content to his scholars, which study the languages." At a later period, in a letter not dated, but which was probably written in 1646 or 1647, at which time the books in the Lambeth Library had been removed by orders of the House of Commons to Cambridge, he tells his Grace, that he "shall be glad to be informed wherein he may best, in this Lambeth Library, be serviceable; and that they are every day expecting the setting up of the Lambeth books in the schools, where your Grace, above 30 years since, heard Mr. Andrew Downes read the Greek lecture; they as yet remaining in fats or great chests." See Parr's Lett. of Abp. Usher, &c. pp. 320, 546. Whether then set up, or only reposing in their chests at Cambridge, the Lambeth books found their way back to their old habitation; a Grace in the Senate having passed, July 22, 1662, upon the Archbishop of Canterbury's claim that the books of his predecessor be now restored to Lambeth Library. See Kennet's Register, p. 788.

scendencies in the Oriental tongues, and profundities besides his classically preheminent in all manner of history and skill of the lawes, I might write even a voluminous encomiastick.—

“ Such was the esteem of our brother, whom; since the world was not worthy of him, we finde as another Enoch walking with God, to be translated to blisse; heaven having gained a saint triumphant, whilst we for the present misse him in the Church militant.

“ Misse him did I say? Yea, at this instant season, his losse is most considerable, there being so much need of his shoulder *under that Herculean labour, and burthen, that now lyeth upon many worthy renowned doctors, and eximious divines, of this our church of England; who are now about to publish the Holy Bible in a greater variety of tongues, and translations, than ever have been hitherto seen extant, together. Their lamps, I trust, shall never want oyl, till that* (maugre the impostures of undermining Jesuitisme, of phrentick Anabaptisme, or of atheistical Barbarisme,) *both the light, and the heat, of the Sun of Righteousness, Christ Jesus, hath enlightened the eyes, and warmed the breasts, of such as belong to God's election, even unto the ends of the earth!—*

“ I have only thus much to adde further, which also accumulates his commendations, that it may

be well said of him, what is recorded of righteous Abel, *being dead, he yet speaketh*, ἐτι λαλεῖται, or, is yet spoken of. Nor can his memory die, whilst so many hopefull plants of his setting spring up after him, and daily grow famous in Cambridge: and, (which I much rejoyce that I have occasion to mention, myselfe having been sometime a member of that society,) the palme for skill in the Orientall languages may well be given to King's College; unto some present fellows whereof, having attained a large measure of perfection that way, the inspection and correction of the presse, to perfect the printing of the Persian Gospels, was wished, and much intrusted, by the deceased Professor."

The edition of the Persian Gospels, not finished at his death, was completed by Mr. Pierson, and published at the cost of Sir Thomas Adams in the same year with the London Polyglot, of which it was at first \* intended to form a part. Bishop Marsh † observes, that this Persian Translation is supposed to be somewhat older than the Version in the same language used by Dr. Walton. Dr. Walton was of a different opinion; and has ‡ pronounced the Translation, which he chose

\* See the Descript. of the Polyglot, p. 39.

† Hist. of Translations, &c. 1812, p. 34.

‡ Præf. " Aliud exemplar secutus est D. *Wheelocus*, cujus editionem ab ipso inceptam post ejus mortem perfecit vir

to print, as the best and most ancient of three which he enumerates, including that which Mr *Wheelock* followed. Mr. *Wheelock* published an edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History; and is believed to have prefixed the following curious note to a manuscript copy of the work, preserved in the Library of Bene't College, Cambridge; which has been thus related by Mr. Nasmith, in his Catalogue of the MSS. of that society. "No. XLI. Bedæ ven. historia eccles. gentis Angl. ab Ælfredo rege, Saxonice versa. Hoc Codice usus est *Abrahamus Wheelocus* in sua hujusce operis

doctus, sed nostro multò recentius est." Again, Proleg. xvi. §. 9. "Evangeliorum Versiones duas habuimus: prioris exemplaria duo; unum Academiæ Cantabrigiensiæ, alterum Oxoniensis: secundæ unicum, clariss. D. Pocockii. *Harum primum*, exemplaribus inter se collatis et quibusdam inde notatis, *imprimere cæperat A. Wheelocus*, in Acad. Cantab. nup. Arab. Ling. Professor, cum Latina versione; quæ post ipsius obitum integra prodiit sumptibus viri optimi, et de literis Orientalibus benè meriti, D. Adams, civis Londinensis. *Secundam, quam omnium antiquissimam et optimam judicavimus*, inter reliquas Versiones tomo quinto hujus operis inseruimus, &c." Of this Manuscript, preferred by Dr. Walton, Mr. *Wheelock* himself appears to have duly appreciated the value. "For the perfecting his [Mr. *Wheelock's*] edition of the Persic Gospels, Mr. Pocock lent him a Manuscript Copy so good, that Mr. *Wheelock*, in a letter to him, professes, that had it not been for, his fear of oppressing his amanuensis, *he would, upon sight thereof, have begun his work again.*" Twells, Life of Pocock. §. 3.



editione, cui forsan debetur sequens notula, &c. *Versio hæc multis in locis, ut pagg. 185, 186, tantum differt à MS. Bibliothecæ Publicæ versione, ut tantum non altera videri possit: sed pag. 195, reliquis MSS. ferè convenit.*" Among the Harleian MSS. (No. 761.) is an Anglo-Saxon Lexicon, written by Mr. Wheelock.

VIII. The next assistant of Dr. Walton, whom I present to the admiration of Oriental scholars, is Mr. *Samuel Clarke*; a man, who was considered, in the University of Oxford, inferior only to Pocock in Eastern learning. He was a \* native of Brackley in Northamptonshire, became in 1638 a student in Merton College, and \* M.A. in 1648. In 1650 he was master of a boarding-school at Islington near London; and from this place transmitted to Dr. Walton his most valuable aid to the Polyglot. At length his residence was fixed in Oxford by an appointment, in 1658, to the office of architypographus of the University; to which was annexed that of superior beadle of law. . He died in 1669.

Dr. Walton, in acknowledging the pains taken by Mr. *Clarke* in the Hebrew text, the Chaldee

\* A. Wood, Ath. Ox.

\* He never proceeded to a higher degree. Yet in some modern publications he is mistakenly called Dr. *Samuel Clarke*.

Paraphrase, and the Persian Gospels, ' omits not other claims of this scholar to esteem. The sixth volume of the Polyglot presents us with Mr. *Clarke's* preliminary remarks upon these several labours; in the first of which, the *Variæ Lectiones et Observationes in Chaldaicam Paraphrasin*, he bestows no small commendation upon the work to which he had readily contributed so much assistance. To these observations and various readings Mr. *Clarke* adds, at the close of them, grateful mention of a share in them supplied by Dr. Castell: as Castell, in like manner, has recorded the aid of *Clarke* in his notes on the Ethiopic Version of the New Testament, not without noticing his "great attainments also in almost every branch of learning. In Mr. *Clarke's* next address, which is to those who are acquainted with the Persian language, and is prefixed to Mr. Greaves's Annotations on the Persian Gospels, he takes occasion, in naming his own Latin Version of these Gospels, to bring before his readers the

' Præf. "Samuelem Clericum, Oxon. Coll. Mert. virum linguarum scientia aliisque animi dotibus ornatum, &c."

"Castelli Annot. in Vers. Æthiop. N. T. Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. "Hunc nodum non sine ope suavissimi mei amici, inque maximo hoc opere *συνήρῃς ἀκμάῃς*, Sam. Clerici, A. M. viri tum in studiis philologicis, tum mathematicis, necnon universæ politiori literature versatissimi, expedivi."

name and services of his deceased friend, the very learned Abraham Wheelock.

Mr. *Clarke* has not concealed, in the preceding remarks, the joy which he felt upon the Polyglot being brought to a close. The modesty with which he has expressed himself upon this occasion, in a letter to Dr. Lightfoot, is a striking proof both of an amiable and pious mind. “<sup>a</sup> As for the work I have great cause of thankfulness, blessing God that hath, even beyond our own hopes, carried us through it. Yet I have no reason to attribute to myself, as due, any part of that thanks and praise, whereunto you are pleased joyntly to entitle me with others far more deserving. But I rather contract a greater debt of thankfulness, that by the testimony and suffrage of one so eminently judicious as you are, I am adjudged to have been faithful.”

To Dr. Lightfoot Mr. *Clarke*, it seems, had also<sup>c</sup> applied for his advice in regard to a work which he thought of publishing; the Targum on the Chronicles, with his own translation. The Manuscript of this Targum belonged to the University of Cambridge, where Mr. *Clarke* had often visited it; and whence he at last, through

<sup>a</sup> See the close of his introduction to the observations on the Chaldee Paraphrase.

<sup>b</sup> Strype, *Life of Lightfoot*, p. xx.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxi.

the earnest solicitation of Dr. Lightfoot, obtained the loan of it. It was his design, as soon as he had finished his meditated labour upon it, to render it, with other Oriental additions, a supplement to the Polyglot Bible. Of his design Dr. Lightfoot greatly approved. And as he proceeded in transcribing, and translating, this Manuscript, Mr. *Clarke* submitted every sheet to the review and correction of Dr. Lightfoot. Yet he never published the work ; though it was <sup>d</sup> looked for with eagerness by Oriental scholars. This labour remains, however, among the Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ; and bears the name of “*Paralipomenum Paraphrasis Chaldaica, Chald. et Lat. conversa ex Codice Cantab;*” two volumes quarto, at the close of which are these words : “*Absoluta est versio hæc Targum Librorum Chronicorum, &c. 15. Nov. Ann. Dom. 1662, sub nocte.*” The Cambridge Targum has since been published by Dr. David Wilkins ; of which an account will be found in the Appendix to this volume, detailing additions made, and pro-

<sup>d</sup> “*Melius judicabant eruditi, quando extabit hoc Targum in Appendice ad Biblia Polyglotta eruditissimi ac præstantissimi Waltoni ; ejus editionem ac versionem procurante viro doctissimo ac amicissimo, Samuele Clerico, hujus Academiæ celeberrimæ architypographo.*” Smith, *Dialectica de Chaldaicis Paraphrastis, &c. Oxon. 1663, p. 104.*

<sup>e</sup> Bliss, Add. to Wood’s *Ath. Ox.* vol. iii. col. 885.

posed to be made, to the Polyglot Bible; and among these, besides the Targum, the intended materials of a supplemental volume of Mr. *Clarke*.

To the Oriental and biblical scholar it may be of service to state, that the following Manuscripts of Mr. *Clarke* have ' lately been noticed, together with the Targum, as now in the Bodleian Library.

*A Transcript of the Psalms in Persian.*

*Portion of a Persian and Turkish Lexicon; a Treatise on Persian Prosody, &c.*

*Annotationes R. D. Kimchi in primum Psalmorum Librum ex Hebræo in Latinum sermonem conversæ, &c.*

*Arabic Vocabulary.*

*A Fragment of the Councils of the Church, with the first fourteen chapters of Exodus in Arabic.*

The old catalogue of Manuscripts in England and Ireland<sup>\*</sup> exhibits also the Pentaglot Lexicon of Schindler, and the younger Buxtorf's Chaldee and Syriac Lexicon, with additions to both, by Mr. *Clarke*, among the bequests of the learned Dr. Thomas Marshall to the same library.

Mr. *Clarke* published, in 1661, "*Scientia Metrica et Rhythmica; seu Tractatus de Proso-*

<sup>\*</sup> Bliss, Add. to Wood's Ath. Ox. vol. iii. col. 865.

<sup>\*</sup> Viz. No. 8624, No. 8640. Catalog. p. 373.

dia Arabica ex authoribus probatiss. eruta." He was the translator also into Latin of the little tract of the Talmud, called <sup>1</sup> *Beracoth*, printed at Oxford, in 1667.

IX. Dr. *Dudley Loftus*, another Oriental scholar of high distinction, and a very valuable assistant in the Polyglot, next claims our notice. He was the <sup>1</sup> son of Sir Adam Loftus, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; and was born in the castle of Rathfarnham, near Dublin, which had been built by his great grandfather, Dr. Loftus, Archbishop of that place. Admitted into Trinity College there, in 1635, he remained till he had taken one degree in arts; not unobserved by Archbishop Usher; who finding him, before he was twenty years of age, so advanced in the study both of the Eastern and Western languages, as to be able to translate many into his mother tongue, advised his father to send him to the University of Oxford, and there, also, to encourage his promising pursuits. To Oxford, therefore, he went; and in the year, in which he was incorporated

<sup>1</sup> Entitled, "*Massecech Beracoth. Titulus Talmudicus, in quo agitur de Benedictionibus, Precibus, et Gratiarum Actionibus. Adjecta Versione Latina. In usum studiosorum Literarum Talmudicarum in Æde Christi.*" 12mo. Oxon. 1667.

<sup>1</sup> A. Wood, Ath. Ox. 2d edit.

B.A. there, <sup>\*</sup> addressed to the learned prelate a letter full of gratitude, as well as curious investigation upon the subject of an Ethiopian Manuscript which he had met with in the Bodleian Library. Having proceeded at Oxford to the degree of M.A. he <sup>1</sup> returned to Ireland with an intention to take leave of his friends, and to improve his study by travelling into foreign parts. The Rebellion of 1641 defeated this intention; and he became, with his brother, Sir Adam Loftus, the defender of his native castle against the common enemy; where at length, with his garrison, he is said to have been basely betrayed by some who pretended to take sanctuary with him.

His services were not forgotten. He was afterwards made by the government senior Master of the Irish Chancery. The great primate, also, who had noticed his early attainments<sup>2</sup>, constituted him Metropolitan Vicar-General, and Judge of the Prerogative Court; and he became Doc-

<sup>\*</sup> Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher, &c. p. 497. Dat. Oxon. November 14, 1639.

<sup>1</sup> Wood, ut supr.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Of a case, which made a great noise at the time, he published officially an account, entitled, "The Case of Ware and Sherley as it was set forth in matter of fact, and argued in several points of law, in the Consistory of Dublin, in Michaelmas Term, 1668. By Dudley Loftus, J. U. D."

tor of Laws. Dr. *Loftus* has been mistakenly<sup>a</sup> called, by the biographer of Pocock, a clergyman. Yet were his studies those of a most exemplary one. He translated and published, in 1661, "David's Psalms from the Armenian language into Latin;" and Wood relates, that in 1677 he was about to set forth a Translation of the Armenian Testament, or rather the History of the Four Evangelists, into Latin; but, at the distance of twenty years afterwards, the Oxford biographer knew not whether such Translation was extant. Of this we are sure, that he translated into Latin the Ethiopic Version of the New Testament; to which labour he had been persuaded, according to Wood, by Usher and Selden; and which has now its place in the fifth volume of the London Polyglot. In the sixth volume of the work we find another contribution from Dr. *Loftus*, viz. *Excerpta paucula ex Scholiis Grægorii Syri in Librum Psalmorum*. His translation of the Ethiopic Version he appears to have<sup>a</sup> sent to Dr. Walton from Ireland.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Twells's Life of Pocock, §. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Præf. Bib. Polygl. "Novum Testamentum Æthiopicum Latinè vertit vir doctiss. tam generis prosapia, quam linguarum Orientalium scientia, nobilis D. *Dudleius Loftusius*, Dubliniensis, qui schedas suas ex Hibernia mihi misit, quas, cum ipse prelo abesset, D. Castellus revidit, ultimamque manum eis imposuit."



To Dr. Castell, as well as to Dr. Walton, Dr. *Loftus* was eminently useful ; as the Preface to the *Heptaglot Lexicon* gratefully acknowledges. Dr. Castell has also<sup>2</sup> elsewhere seized the opportunity of bearing testimony to his multifarious learning.

He was likewise the much-valued correspondent of Pocock ; and from letters to him we gather further<sup>1</sup> information of Dr. *Loftus's* unwearied application, amidst other studies, to the literature of the East ; that he had published an English translation, from the *Catena*, compiled by Dionysius from Oriental writers, of the Gospel of St. Mark, and intended an edition in the same way of the whole four Gospels ; that he had met with a panegyrical oration upon Abul-Faraji, which also he designed to publish ; and that of the same Arabic writer's Ecclesiastical History he had made a translation, and committed it to the press in Dublin. In 1690 he refers, in his correspondence with Pocock, to the way in which he had spent his time during the late troubles in Ireland ; in translating eight Syriac Liturgies into Latin ; and in having thus trans-

<sup>2</sup> Annot. in Vers. Æthiop. Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. " Quæ verba ita transtulit D.D. Loftusius, vir non tantum πολυγλωττός, sed et omnigena eruditione clarus, mihi quæ multis nominibus merito colendus."

<sup>1</sup> Twells, ut supr.

lated also the Ethiopic Liturgy, though already translated by a Romanist, with a view to shew the falsities endeavoured, by men of that religion, to be imposed upon the ignorant and unsuspecting; all which, with some addition, and a general exposition, he professed a design of publishing.

From the list of his Manuscripts, given in the ' Catalogue of the Manuscripts in England and Ireland, (1697,) I select the following illustration of what has been said of his studies, or in alliance with them.

*Quatuor Evangelia in Lingua Armenica edita. Euchologion Armenicum.*

*Historia Quatuor Evangelistarum ex Armenica traducta per Dudl. Loft.*

*Catena Syriaca Dionysii Syri in Quatuor Evangelia, triginta ad minus consistens auctoribus, et copiosissima, traducta per Dudl. Loft. in Latinum.*

*Expositio Gregorii Maphorini in cunctos Libros tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti, per Dudl. Loft. traducta in Latinum.*

*Anaphora seu Missa duodecim Apostolorum, traducta ex Lingua Syriaca in Latinam per Dudl. Loft.*

*Anaphoræ seu Liturgiæ S. Joannis Evange-*

' Catalogi Pars altera, p. 49.

*listæ, S. Petri, S. Dionysii Areopagitæ, Sixti Papæ I., Joannis Barshushan, S. Eustathii, Matthæi, Pastoris seu Hermetis, tractatæ ex Lingua Syriaca in Lat. per Dudl. Loft. Hæ nondum typis fuerunt editæ, sed confestim in lucem prodituræ sunt.*

*Conciones Ephræmi Syri ex Syriaco in Latinum tractatæ.*

*Canones Concordantiæ Evangelistarum in Lingua Syriaca.*

*Tractatus Persicus, extractus, uti præ se fert titulus, ex Libro Danielis Prophetæ, de interpretatione somniorum, per Abrahamum Ebn Abdallah.*

The preceding Manuscripts follow the description of those which belong to Trinity College, Dublin. Among the \* Oxford Manuscripts, in the same volume, given to the University by Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, there are these two by Dr. Loftus.

*Dudleii Loftusii, V. Cl. Versio Latina Catenæ Dionysianæ.*

*Ejusdem Versio Latina Commentariorum Mo-  
sis Bar Cepha.*

X. In the proposals for printing the Polyglot Bible, the names of those, who were to be employed in preparing the copy, correcting the

\* Catalogi Pars prima, p. 374.

press, and overseeing the management of the work, have been ' before recited. Among them there was no one more worthy of such distinction, or more suited to such labour, than Mr. *John Vicers*, or *Vicears*. That no reader may confound this learned person with him of the same name, whom we have \* already seen chronologically ranting for the Puritan cause, and who " inspired by ale or viler liquors," wrote in metre also; I must observe, that this assistant of Dr. Walton was an author, to whom critics of our \* own and other countries have referred with great satisfaction. Leaving the *John Vicers* of *Hudibras*, therefore, to the fame bestowed upon him by Butler, I proceed to state, that Dr. Walton's friend was the author of a most curious as well as learned work, entitled *Decapla in Psalmos, sive Commentarius ex decem linguis, &c. Heb. Arab. Syriac. Chald. Rabbin. Græc. Rom. Ital. Hispan. Gallic*. It was published in 1639, and dedicated to Archbishop Laud. This gentleman was \* originally of the University of

\* See before, p. 49.

\* See before, p. 16.

\* Gataker cites him to a Hebrew criticism with delight, calling him *Decaplorum autor eruditissimus*. De Nov. Test. Stylo, p. 183. See also the Biblioteca Española, que contiene la noticia de los Escritores Rabinos Españoles, &c. Madrid, 1781, p. 93.

\* Wood, Ath. Ox.

Cambridge, where he took the degree of B. A. Afterwards he removed to Lincoln College, in Oxford, and proceeded to the degree of M. A. Perhaps he was the John Viccars, whom Newcourt has <sup>7</sup> recorded rector of South Fambridge, in Essex.

XI. Another gentleman, <sup>8</sup> selected for the same services with Mr. Viccars, was Dr. *David Stokes*. He was first of Trinity College, afterwards of Peterhouse, in Cambridge; and was incorporated in 1645, with Dr. Fuller and Dr. Walton, at Oxford. Of his preferments, which were a fellowship of Eton College, a canonry of Windsor, and the rectory of Binfield, he was dispossessed, like other royalists; yet lived to regain and enjoy them several years after the restoration of King Charles II. Besides <sup>9</sup> several sermons, and directions for private devotions, he published *An Explication of the twelve Minor Prophets, &c. wherein the difficult places are unfolded, and the seeming contradictions reconciled, according to the best Commentators now extant.*

XII. Another of the original correctors of the press, and preparers of copy, of whom an account is now to be given, was Mr.

<sup>7</sup> Reperit. Lond. vol. ii. p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> See before, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Wood, Fast. Ox. sub. an. 1645.

**Thomas Smith** ; of whose skill, in Oriental learning, Dr. Walton has <sup>b</sup> spoken with admiration. He was fellow of Christ College, in Cambridge, and keeper of the public library there. The learned Orientalist of the <sup>c</sup> same

<sup>b</sup> Præf. Bib. Polygl. "T. Smithus, S. T. B. Coll. Christi Cantab. *linguarum Orientalium callentissimus*."

<sup>c</sup> In the Præf. to his *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrasis*, &c. 1663. This learned man was afterwards D.D. He was chaplain to the English ambassador at Constantinople in 1668, whence he returned in 1671. Afterwards he was chaplain to Sir Joseph Williamson, secretary of state. In 1678 he was appointed to collate and publish the Alexandrian Manuscript, then in St. James's Library; and for his reward a canonry of Windsor or Westminster is said to have been promised by the king. "But that grand design," says a very intelligent writer, "was not executed, having been reserved for the industry and abilities of Dr. Woide in 1784." Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 14. The reservation, let me add, was attended only with partial success; the publication merely of the New Testament. For the abilities and industry of an English divine, in this our day, the great design of publishing the Old Testament from the ancient Manuscript has been reserved; and has now proceeded, at the press, beyond the second book of Kings; namely, under the vigilant eye of the Rev. Mr. Baber, of the British Museum; whose labour crowned with one of the honours which Charles the Second, we are told, designed for Dr. Smith, what scholar would not rejoice to witness? Dr. Smith is the author of many valuable works upon oriental and antiquarian subjects.

names, first of Queen's College, and afterwards fellow of Magdalene, in Oxford, acknowledged great obligation to him.

Mr. *Smith* is better known to general readers of divinity, by his translation of *Daillé's Apology for the Reformed Churches*; to which he joined a *Preface, containing the Judgment of an University Man concerning Mr. Knott's last book* [Infidelity unmasked, or the Confutation of Mr. Chillingworth] *against Mr. Chillingworth*. Chillingworth is admirably vindicated in this Preface, not only against the Jesuit Knott, but against Lacy, another of the Order. The translation of Mr. *Smith* was published in 1653, and may easily be consulted; but the following letter upon the subject from Dr. Hammond, whom *Smith* had probably consulted, is too valuable in many respects to be here omitted. It exists, in the hand-writing of Archbishop Sancroft, among the Lambeth Manuscripts. "<sup>d</sup> *For Mr. Tho. Smith, at Chr. Coll. in Cambridge.*

" Worthy Sir,

" To your last favour I have no other meet return to make but of my thanks; which therefore, if it may have some value with you, I make all hast to pay. And first, to tell you that, by

<sup>d</sup> Lamb. MSS. No. 595, fol. 14—16.

as much I have had leisure yet to read in Mr. Knott's Answer to Mr. Chillingworth, it will be a sad melancholy piece of work for any that shall performe the first part of the challenge of it, i. e. read it over from the beginning to the end. For the other difficulties of answering it, I suppose they were not by the author judged very great, when he finds it necessary to accumulate so much unnecessary weight upon his feared answer, as in his preface he hath done, on purpose to trash him, and foreslow him, and reduce him somewhat near that snail's pace, wherein he hath followed Mr. Chillingworth. That I have no thoughts of attending him, I can give you assurance; and I believe the same of Dr. Taylor, because he lately told me of his entring on a Work of Cases, which will require great length. If it were not an unkindness to commend to a friend the exercise of so much patience; I confess, I wish it undertaken by one whom your first letter named to me, Mr. \* J [ohn] P [earson.]

"Sir, your publick mention of me, which I acknowledge a great honour, may, I fear, be matter of diminution to the great esteem which I find to be had of your parts and learning, when you cannot be allowed to be thus humble without some censure.

\* Dr. Pearson, written in the margin by Sancroft; he, who was afterward Bishop of Chester.



“ Sir, be confident the true Protestant (i. e. Church of England’s Cause) will never suffer at that tribunal of the primitive Church of apostolical tradition, sufficiently testified to be such; which my first question appeals to, and King Charles from his father’s instructions to his bishops; and from time to time the prelates of our Church have allwaies owned as the standard; and for which Mr. Casaubon in his epistles admires and recommends the temper of our Church to his brethren beyond seas, as the *évidences* of purity and antiquitie, which was not else to be found any where. Cardinal Perron’s book is very long, and written in French, and not very long since translated; and by King James’s death the sharpness of the controversie superseeded, and many things of a better temper in it than the more rigid and less learned Papists have said; and so the necessity of considering and weighing his testimonies may have been thought less important. And yet you know it hath been answered too; and I have not heard but that Mr. Blondell hath deserv’d commendations in that work *De la primauté*: And that he hath not so in his Apologie for St. Jerome, may well be imputed to the infecilitie of his subject, which could not better be defended. That [which] Grotius saith, *Blondell grants enough*, I suppose to

Dr. Walton, in admiration of his genius and industry<sup>1</sup>, records his services with anticipation of his future fame, as well as with acknowledgment of his present excellence beyond his years. He was honoured by another public mark of literary gratitude, in the same year which closed the Polyglot. For to him was addressed, as the diligent restorer of the Persian Pentateuch, a<sup>1</sup> pub-

<sup>1</sup> Præf. Bib. Polygl. "D. Thomas Hyde, [it is misprinted in some of the leaves *Radulphus*,] summæ spei juvenis, qui in Linguis Orientalibus supra ætatem magnos progressus fecit, quorum specimina dedit tum in *Arabicis, Syriacis, Persicis, &c. corrigendis*, tum in *Pentateucho Persico characteribus Persicis describendo*, qui antea solis Hebræis extitit, ejusque *Versionem Latinam concinnando*."

<sup>1</sup> Veteris Linguae Persicæ Αἰψάρα ferè omnia, quæ quidem apud priscos scriptores reperiri poterant. Ad doctissimum juvenem Thomam Hyde, *Pentateuchi Persici restauratorem diligentissimum*. Lond. 1657." This is subjoined to Burton's Græcæ Linguae Historia, 12mo. 1657. It has been republished, with augmentations, by J. H. v. Seelen, Lub. 1720. It is indeed a very curious little work, and a subject upon which Hyde has enlarged in his *Religio Veterum Persarum*, &c. See Odbelius de Convenientia Linguae Persicæ cum Gothica, &c. Ups. 1723. "Linguam, qua hodiè utuntur Persæ, non eandem esse cum antiquissima Persica, quæ in quibusdam locis tantùm hodiè obtinet, firmis argumentis probat Hyde in *De Religione Veterum Persarum*. Rectius autem hodierna Persica diceretur Medica, seu Medo-Persica. Rex enim Behram Ghur, qui obiit anno 30 Theodosii jun. h. e. seculo quinto, linguam

lication, containing remains of the ancient Persian language.

He was <sup>k</sup> born, in 1636, at Billingsley, in Shropshire, and was originally of King's College, Cambridge; whence he removed, in 1658, to Queen's College, Oxford; and in the following year was created M.A. with a distinction, which honoured him for the uncommon progress he had made, at the former University, in Eastern literature; where he had been the pupil of Wheelock. "He is of full standing," the Chancellor's letter said, "since his admission into the University of Cambridge for the degree of M.A. and *has given public testimony of his more than ordinary abilities and learning in the Oriental languages.*" Upon this occasion he is said to have delivered a lecture in the Persian tongue. In this University he was, at length, advanced to a station which must have been highly

*illam veterem ut barbaram fastidians, jussit ut lingua Medica in aulam reciperetur; unde illa Deri, h. e. aulica, est appellata. Et proinde ejus usus ad hunc usque diem est continuatus, altera vetustiore lingua neglecta, et despectui habita."* cap. ii. §. i. The *Deri*, it may be added, has been beautifully polished by the poetry and prose of succeeding times.

<sup>k</sup> Wood, Ath. Ox. Biograph. Brit. And Dr. Gregory Sharpe's Latin Life of him, prefixed to a republication of several of Dr. Hyde's treatises, with additions.

<sup>l</sup> Wood, Fast. Ox. sub aa. 1659.

gratifying to him, that of keeper of the Bodleian Library ; next, to the professorship of Arabic ; and lastly, to that of Hebrew, to which a canonry of Christ-Church is annexed. The ecclesiastical dignities of a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and of the archdeaconry of Gloucester, had been also conferred upon him ; and soon after his promotion to the latter, he took the degree of D.D.

Upon the marriage of King Charles the second, *Hyde* <sup>a</sup> offered his congratulation in a copy of Arabic verses. In 1665 he translated from the Persian into Latin, with notes, *Ulugh Beg's Observations on the Longitude and Latitude of the fixed Stars*. His writings indeed are numerous ; and the <sup>a</sup> catalogue, which has been given of them, is itself a valuable curiosity. But of them all the most known, and admired, is his *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, &c.* the labour of nearly half a century. It was published in the year 1700. About the same time he appears to have resolved upon relinquishing the office, which he had so long and so usefully filled, at the Bodleian library. This determination he communicated to archbishop Tenison in a letter, which

<sup>a</sup> In the "Domiduca Oxoniensis, sive Musæ Academicæ Gratulatio, &c." 4to. Ox. Not published before 1662. sign. c. 4. b.

<sup>a</sup> See Wood, Ath. Ox. and Biograph. Brit.

mentions other learned and valuable labours to which he wished to devote his time, and contains other literary information sufficient to justify my copying the ° original here.

“ My Lord,

“ I am now most humbly to thank your Grace for your intercession and assistance, whereby we have received one hundred pounds of the King’s pension.

“ This is also to acquaint your Lordship, that I am about to quit my place in the Library, and that Mr. *Wallis* is one of those who stand for it, whose interest I shall promote in gratitude to your Lordship, who have been alwayes ready to help me. I hope he will be able to make a good interest in the University. But the Dean of Christchurch by his letters swayeth our College against him, and the Provost of Oriel doth the same in his College. I wish there could be some way to make them for us.

“ The other person who stands, is one Mr. ° *Hudson* of University College, who is well

° In the Lambeth Library, MSS. No. 953. art. 67.

¶ Mr. Hudson was elected in 1701. He became afterwards D.D. He was editor of several valuable editions of classical authors; and after his death was published the fine edition of *Josephus* which he had prepared.

versed in Greek, but not in any of the Eastern languages. But Mr. *Wallis* is as good a Grecian as any man in the Unniversity, and will also have the advantage of the Eastern languages, which is a qualification necessary for the Keeper of that Library ; for, otherwise, he will be much in the darke. The statute also requireth to be skilfull in the learned languages ; in which respect Mr. *Wallis* is the more fit person, if they vote according to conscience. About Easter your Grace will see the event of it. And in the mean time, with thanks for all your Grace's favours, I remain,

" My Lord, your Lordship's

" Ever ready and humble servant,

*Tho : Hyde.*

" March 9, 17<sup>00</sup>/<sub>81</sub>, Oxon.

" My reasons for laying down my place are, 1st. because, my legs being weakned by the gout, I am weary of the toil of daily attendance all times and weathers. And 2dly. that I may have my time at command to digest and finish *my Notes and Collections on hard places of Scripture.*"

Dr. *Hyde* seems to have much gratified James the second, when he visited Oxford in 1687, with his <sup>a</sup> answers respecting Chinese literature. He

<sup>a</sup> Life of A. Wood, written by himself, p. 390.

had made great progress in the language of China. Of the Armenian tongue he was 'considered an oracle. To his skill in other Eastern languages the London Polyglot, if there were no other monument, bears imperishable testimony. Granger has truly said, that "Bochart, Pocock, and Hyde, are allowed to have been the greatest Orientalists, which any age or nation has produced." Dr. Hyde died in Feb. 1702-3.

We have seen, in his letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, that so late as in 1701 he was employed in illustrating the Scriptures. We conclude, while we lament that they were not given to the public, the following annotations, mentioned by Wood and Dr. Sharpe, to have been the fruit of this employment. *Annotationes in difficultiora loca Biblica ex libris Orientalibus desumptæ.*

Having published *Quatuor Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum Lingua Malaica, Characteribus Europæis*, he had intended to print also *Evangelium Lucae et Acta Apostolorum, Lingua et Characteribus Malaico.*

' See Lett. of Eminent Men, &c. Aubrey's Anecd. vol. 1. p. 69. Dr. Hickes to Dr. Charlett at Oxford, 1694. "I am glad you are going to found Armenian and Sclavonian letters; you have an oracle of the former language among you, I mean Dr. Hyde."

How would the biblical scholar have been gratified, and benefited, by the following works, which, with several other, he had also designed for the press !

*Maimonidis Liber More Nevochim, transcriptus ex characteribus Hebraicis, quibus à Maimonide scriptus est, in proprios Arabicos, cum nova versione et notis, Arabicè et Latinè.*

*Lexicon Hebraicum, emendatum ex MSS. Lexicis Rabbi Pirchon, R. Jonæ, et R. Jesaiæ, atque ex collatione cum linguis Arabica et Persica, et aliis linguis Orientalibus.*

*Commentarius in Pentateuchum Arabicè, auctore Mansûr Syro-Arabe, ex Scriptura Gershami in Arab. transcriptus, et Latinitate donatus.*

XIV. Another Oriental scholar, though unnamed by Dr. Walton, is \* stated to have been also a corrector of the press in the Syriac and Arabic of the Polyglot. This was *Richard Heath*, M.A. formerly of Christ College, Cambridge, where he was much valued for his learning, and considered as eminently accomplished in the Eastern tongues. The sheets of the Bible, which he overlooked, are said to have been sent to him at Shrewsbury, where he was minister of

\* Calamy, cited by Kennet in his Reg. p. 830, and Life of Philip Henry, 2d ed. 1699. ch. xi.



one of the churches. For his trouble Dr. Walton is reported to have given him a copy of the work. He became a non-conformist in 1662, and died in 1666.

XV. In the next object of our notice, Mr. *Alexander Huish*, we shall find indeed not only a very eminent corrector at the press both of Greek and Latin in the Polyglot, but an assistant also of the highest class to the editor of it. Wood<sup>1</sup> says, that he was one of the *four* correctors of this Bible at the press, that he took great pains in the Septuagint Translation, the Greek text of the New Testament, and the Vulgar Latin, compared with the most ancient Alexandrian MS. Copy, with the old edition of the Septuagint printed at Rome according to the Vatican Copy, and Robert Stephens's edition of the Greek text of the New Testament; that he diligently collected the Various Readings of the Alexandrian Copy, which are throughout the work put under the Roman edition of the Septuagint, and Stephens's edition of the Testament; and that, in the sixth volume of the Polyglot, he has printed a Greek hymn with a Latin version of it.

It may be gathered, though not implied in Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *Athenæ Oxon.*

Walton's "acknowledgment of Mr. *Huish's* services, from remarks "made by Mr. *Huish* himself, that he was answerable for the correctness of the press in other besides his own contributions. These, more abundant than Wood has stated them, he had been employed above four years in amassing; and, with the delivery of them into the great storehouse of sacred criticism, subjoined an "Ode or Hymn from the Alexandrian Manuscript; of which I will give his Latin paraphrase.

\* *Præf. Alexandrum Huisham, S. T. B. Ecclesie Cathedralis Wellensis præbendarium, qui in Versione Græca τὸν ὁ тексту Græco N. Test. et Vulgata Latina operam impendit; necnon antiquissimum nostrum exemplar MS. Alexandrinum cum Romana Test. Vet. et Rob. Stephani T. Novæ editione contulit; variantesque lectiones, quæ singulis paginis apponuntur, diligenter collegit.*"

\* *Bib. Pol. vol. vi. ad fin. collat. vers. lxx. p. 140. "Post exantlatam operam per quadricenne et quadrimestre spatium, ab initio operis ad finem ejus usque, in colligendis hujus MS. Alex. variantibus lectionibus, ipsisque cum Bibliis Græcis LXX. Interp. eorumque Translatione, atque Vulgata Versione, Latina; aliisque quæ proximè præcesserunt, quam multis, ad præbium corrigendis atque recognoscendis, labores meos concludo."*

\* *Bib. Pol. ut suprâ. "Votivum Deo, sive Gratiarum Actio pro opere confecto. Ex MS. Alex. post Odas quæ sequuntur Psalmos," &c.*

Δόξα ἰς ὑψίστους Θεοῦ.

Καὶ ἰσὶ γῆς σίμην, κ. τ. λ.

*“ Iambicum, Dimetrum, Acatalecticum.*

- “ Deo sit in sublimibus  
    Laus, et perennis gloria ;  
Terrisque pax, mortalibus  
    Mens et voluntas unica.
- “ Te prædicamus, Te Deum  
    Benedicimus ; Te plurimis  
Tuumque nomen inclytum  
    Extollimus præconia.
- “ Tibi gratias, quas possumus  
    Præstare maximas, Tuæ  
Pro splendidæ reponimus  
    Immensitate gloriæ.
- “ Domine Deus, Rex cœlice,  
    Deus omnium potens Pater ;  
O singularis, unice,  
    O Christe, partus integer.
- “ Agnus Dei, Patris tui  
    Qui sempiternus Filius  
Peccata tollis seculi ;  
    Miserere nobis, quæsumus.
- “ Peccata tollens seculi,  
    Audi tuorum nunc preces ;  
Miserere nobis, ad tui  
    Qui dexteram Patris sedes.

“ Tu namque solus sanctus es,  
 Dominusque, Christe ; tu Patris  
 Cum Spiritu par summus es,  
 In gloria ejus numinis.

“ Amen.”

*Huish* certainly bestowed great attention upon the Alexandrian MS. And if Grabe and Mill had not made many additions to the various readings, collected by *Huish*, which are found in this MS. what testimony could be more honourable or more complete in regard to the examination of it, than that of <sup>r</sup> Bentley ; who, afterwards col-

<sup>r</sup> Berriman's Critical Dissertation upon 1 Tim. iii. 16, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1741. p. 154. With manuscript notes in the margin by Berriman himself, and a letter, dat. Feb. 2, 1761, at the beginning of the book, addressed to Archbishop Secker. Lambeth MSS. No. 1063. “ I had this from Mr. Casley, who heard Dr. Bentley declare it.” Berriman hence infers, that both *Huish* and *Bentley* allowed the true reading of the Alexandrian MS. 1 Tim. iii. 16. to be Θς. Such was certainly the concession of Patrick Young before *Huish*, and after him of Walton, Fell, Mill, and Grabe. But I may here be allowed to enlarge upon so important a text ; and, first, to refer the reader to Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. II. in vindication of this contested reading. Next, notwithstanding what Wetstein and Griesbach have advanced against this reading of Θς,

lating it himself, declared *that it had been collated by Mr. Huish with great exactness?*

I will give the summary of Matthæi upon the passage, which is of sufficient power to prevent a too hasty decision of any one; premising that he professes to have made use of fifteen Manuscripts of the Epistles in his edition of the New Testament; of which the oldest was of the ninth century; and these are his words: “Bona fide testor me in omnibus Codicibus Mosq. Græcis ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητως reperisse μνημον, διὰς ἱφανρώθη. His addo Euthymium Zigabenum in Panoplia Tit. XV. contra Nestorianos, qui fol. cxx. pag. 2. col. 1. hunc locum ex Cyrillo hoc modo repetiit. Καὶ ὁμολογεῖται, κ. τ. λ.” Præf. in Cath. Epist. pp. xl. xli. His note upon the passage in question, of more minute formation, is as follows. “In Stephaniana editione N. T. ann. 1550, διὰς ἱφανρώθη *sine ulla varietate legitur*. Nunc deinceps de illis Codicibus videamus, qui apud Wetstenium litteris majusculis notantur.

“Cod. Alexandrinus. Is, teste *Millio*, habet διὰς. Teste *Wetstenio* et *Griesbachio*, ὁ.

“Cod. Vaticanus. Is, auctore *Wetstenio*, hac Epistola prorsus caret.

“Cod. Kusteri Parisinus 9. seu Ephreми rescriptus. Ex hoc *Kusterus* nihil notat. Ejus ergo taciturnitas est pro lectione διὰς. *Wetstenius* putat hunc habere ὁ. Teste *Griesbachio*, exhibet ὁ. *Woidius* διὰς ibi putat deprehendisse. *Less* ita scribit: 1 Timoth. iii. 16. Habe mir alle mögliche Mühe gegeben, zu sehen was *Wetstein* sane. Endlich setzt der Herr Doctor hinzu, dass er, weil fast alles verloschen, nichts habe bemerken können.

“Cod. Claromontanus. Hic, auctore *Millio*, habet ὁ,

Mr. *Huish* was a member, first, of *Magdalene Hall*, in *Oxford*; afterwards, in 1613, one of the

et ex emendatione *Sid.* \*O à prima manu, test. *Wets.* et *Griesb.*

"Cod. *Sangermanensis*. Hic est hoc loco mutilus.

"Cod. *Augiensis*. Hic, teste *Wetstenio*, habet *ŷ*.

"Cod. *Boernerianus*. Hic, test. *Wets.* et *Kustero*, habet *ŷ*. Ita ex correct., antea *ŷ*, uti *Bengelius* tradit. Obiter etiam hoc notandum duxi. *Wetstenius* ex Alexandrino notat *ŷ* ex F. et G. [hoc Codice, et *Augiensi*,] *OC*. Quid sibi vult ista inconstantia? Cur non utroque loco aut *ŷ*, aut *OC* dedit? Deinde, quid sibi vult ista linea in relativo *ŷ*? Hoc enim omnes sciunt, relativum *ŷ* in nullo Codice scribi *OC*. Solum *Sid.*, propter omissas literas, habet istam lineam *OC*. Similiter scribitur *IC*, *XC*, et alia.

"Cod. *Coislinianus* hoc loco caret.

"His accedit solus

"Cod. *Colb. 7.* qui, auctore *Millio*, multoties ex Latina *Vulgata* interpolatus, habet *ŷ*. Quæ de hoc Codice tradita sunt, valdè sunt obscura et incerta.

"Sex ergo omnino Codices hoc loco dicuntur variare. Reliqui omnes habent *Sid.* Sed concedamus, in omnibus illis, [anteà enumeratis,] legi aut *ŷ*, aut *ŷ*. Quid hinc efficitur? Nihil nisi hoc, quod Codices Latinizantes (rectius Græco-Latini) hoc loco corrupti sunt ex Latina *Vulgata*. Sed unde *Vulgata* et *Itala* corrupta est? Ex Codice *Scholorum*, uti per totum *N. Testamentum*. Ac hoc quidem loco ex vitiosa lectione scholii *Cyrilli*, &c.—Ex his duabus corruptis lectionibus vetustiore esse censeo *ŷ*, ortam et receptam in contextum ex scholio *Cyrilli*, quod ante *Photii* tempora in *Catenam* illam, quæ nunc *Oecumenio* tribuitur, à *Photio* autem aucta videtur, relatum erat. Istud *ŷ* offen-

original foundation-scholars at Wadham College, in which also he became fellow. Having entered into holy orders, he was distinguished as a preacher; and in 1638 was presented to two benefices in his native county of Somerset. Attached to the royal cause, he soon afterwards was a great sufferer in the civil war. So early as in 1640 he had been taken into custody as a delinquent. To some of his parishioners, with whom he was not in favour, as the manner then was, for placing the communion-table under the east-window, he might be indebted for this invidious dis-

deus interpres Latinus, mirabilium lectionum, quæ in scholiis et patribus Græcis reperiuntur, cupidissimas, quia vocabulo *sacramenti* non conveniebat, mutavit in *quod*. Hoc *quod* deinde genuit Græcum  $\delta$ . Ita Coloss. i. 24. idem genus Codicum [scil. Clarom. Sang. Aug. et Boern.] propter Versionem Italo-Vulgatam ante  $\omega$ , addunt  $\delta$ , et eodem versu Codd. Kuet. Clarom. et Sang. habent  $\delta$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau$   $\eta$   $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , cum tamen in eorum Versionibus *quod* legatur." Matthæi, Nov. Test. vol. 7. pp. 90, 91, 92. In four Manuscripts of the Greek Testament, procured from the Islands of the Archipelago, and now deposited by the munificence of the present Archbishop of Canterbury in the Library at Lambeth Palace, of which the oldest is of the eleventh century, the reading is  $\Theta\omega\tau$ , in two instances contracted  $\theta\epsilon$ , and in the other two  $\theta\epsilon$ .

\* Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. II. p. 76.

<sup>a</sup> The complaint of his parishioners, and his reply, are among the Lambeth MSS. But it is enough to refer to the similar case of Dr. Walton, p. 14, et seq.

tion. He was afterwards driven from place to place ; yet in the quiet repose, says Wood, which sometimes he obtained, he improved his talent for the public good of learning. He was, however, persecuted not only in the deprivation of his own preferment, but in the <sup>b</sup> expulsion of his son from Wadham College ; in being <sup>c</sup> confined also at a village in Wiltshire, where his wants were aggravated and unrelieved by the soldiers, and where in his imprisonment he subsisted only by the provisions which were secretly conveyed to him. By an exchange of prisoners he was at length liberated ; and then, perhaps, tasted the repose to which Wood alludes, the happy employment of which we have beheld in his share of the Polyglot. At the Restoration he regained what he had lost, and was also presented to a prebend in the cathedral of Wells. “ ‘ Having lived beyond the age of man, and done extraordinary benefit for the common good,” he died in 1668. He published, in 1626, *Lectures on the Lord's Prayer*.

XVI. Another assistant, in the very useful labour of collecting Various Readings for the

<sup>b</sup> Wood, Annals of the University of Oxford, under the year 1648.

<sup>c</sup> Walker ut supr.

<sup>d</sup> Wood, Ath. Ox.



Polyglot, was Dr. Thomas Pierce. He is not noticed by Dr. Walton in his Preface, but in the sixth volume of the work we find *Variantes Lectiones ex Annotatis viri summi et incomparabilis D. Hugonis Grotii in universa Biblia, cum ejusdem de iis iudicio, collectæ opera ac studio doctissimi viri Thomæ Piercii, presbyteri, rectoris ecclesiæ de Brington in Com. Northamptonensi.*

Dr. Pierce was a native of Wiltshire, and was \* educated in Magdalene College, Oxford ; where he was first a chorister, then demy or scholar, afterwards fellow, and lastly president. From his fellowship he was ejected, in 1648, by the † *Committee for the Reformation of the University of Oxford* ; in ‡ which year the ardour of these reformers, “ the well-affected of the University and City,” as they were then called, was exercised in a “ zealous persecution of the young people that followed <sup>§</sup> May-Games, by breaking of garlands, taking away fiddles from musicians,

\* Wood, Ath. Ox.

† See the hope expressed of this Committee by one of their own heart, in this volume, p. 26.

‡ Wood, Annals of the University of Oxford, under the year 1648.

§ Nothing was so grievous to the eyes and the minds, as it should seem, of the Puritans, as the old customs observed on the first of May. At the Restoration of Charles the Second, they kept up their hostility to the hated games, in

dispersing morrice-dancers, and the like." *Pierce* was both a <sup>1</sup> poet and a wit; and probably had exposed himself, by his ridicule of their labours, to the censure of this mirth-expelling committee. In the sister University, and in the same year, we may just pause to observe a more profound and ingenious device for the establishment of Puritanism under the name of reformation; a device projected by the parliamentary master of her principal society; and a device not unregarded, in later days, by those who would appropriate to themselves exclusively the epithet of every true Christian, and render their partiality

printing and more than once reprinting, in 1660 and 1661, *Punchris Flora*, or, *The Downfall of May-Games*; which the author, Thomas Hall, condemned for their rudeness, profaneness, &c. I think it curious to observe, in regard to this pamphlet, that it presents a similar method of arguing, which Bishop Sherlock, in later times, has shewn in his *Trial of the Witnesses*, &c. In this *Downfall*, *Flora*, the patroness of May-games, is formally indicted; addressed by the judge; and submits to be tried by a jury; upon which the judge exclaims, "Thou hast well said; thou shalt have a full, a fair, and a free hearing." The crier is then directed to call witnesses, when *Holy-Scripture* comes forward, and delivers his testimony against these games; then *Pliny*, *Lactantius*, and others, down to a Mr. *Elton*, "a man eminent for piety and known integrity in his time!" After much interchange of judicial and formal remarks, sentence is finally given against poor *Flora*.

<sup>1</sup> Wood, Ath. Ox. and see the following pp. 279, 280.

subservient to views of schism. “<sup>k</sup> If the Lord please to honour you to purge Schools and Universities, you may with more encouragement raise *feoffees to buy in impropriations*; you will soon, by God’s blessing, have able men to send abroad as *evangelical preachers*, till you have enough to fix in all places; and good justices of peace; as also solid, able, parliament-men!”

Driven from the University, Mr. *Pierce* became, however, rector of Brington, in Northamptonshire; and was much followed and admired “<sup>l</sup> for his smooth and edifying way of preaching.” Nor was he dispossessed of this benefice. At the Restoration he was created D.D., and obtained a prebend in the churches both of Canterbury and Lincoln. And in 1675, having long before resigned the presidency of Magdalene College, he was made Dean of Salisbury. Evelyn “<sup>m</sup> speaks of the visit of *Pierce* to him in the Usurpation, and calls him “the learned minister of Brington,” and also “an excellent musician.” Of his poetry Wood records several published

<sup>k</sup> The Strength of the Saints, a Sermon by Dr. Thomas Hill, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge 4to. 1648. Epist. Ded. to the Committee at Westminster, dat. May 3, 1648.

<sup>l</sup> Wood, Ath. Ox.

<sup>m</sup> Memoirs, vol. i. p. 293.

pieces; to which \*additions might be made. In his poem, entitled *Caroli τῆ μακαρίτης Παλιγγενεσίᾳ*, and published in 1649, he thus fearlessly and forcibly, at the close, has described the dominant faction of the time.

“ When future times shall look what plagues be-  
fel

“ Egypt and us, by way of parallel ;

“ They’ll find at once presented to their view

“ The Frogs and Lice, and Independents too.

“ Only this signal difference will be known

“ Twixt those Egyptian judgments and our own,

“ Those were God’s armies ; but the effect doth  
tell,

“ That these our vermin are the host of hell.”

Wood has pronounced him well read in authors, both civil and profane ; a zealous son of the Church of England, though originally a Calvinist ; and above all, whether in the Latin or English tongue, an excellent preacher. His character indeed is drawn with more than ordinary care by the Oxford biographer ; who further says, that the ingenious keenness of his pen, and the

\* Perhaps his first English poem, written when he was only eighteen, is that in the *Horti Carolini Rosa Altera*, Ox. 1640 ; in which collection there is also by him a Latin copy of verses.

complete excellency of his learning, many of his greatest adversaries often confessed and acknowledged, but oftener experienced in those most notorious overthrows, and palpable foils, which he gave them; that he was a resolute maintainer of the ancient establishment of the English Church, and a firm assertor of her rights, at a time, when it was accounted matter of the deepest guilt to have so much courage as either to own the one, or publicly to appear in defence of the other; that he, Hammond, and Heylin, all of Magdalene College, were the chiefest champions among the old, regular, and conformable Clergy, who victoriously engaged many of the most specious and plausible pamphleteers, whose scurrilous and violent libels the rank liberty of the boundless press midwived into the miserably torn and distracted nation; that he was also a person very well read and exercised in the quinquarticular controversies. Hence the attention which he <sup>o</sup> bestowed upon illustrating the theological opinions of archbishop Usher, and his correspondence upon the occasion with Walton, Thorndike, and Gunning. He was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference, and more than any of the rest appears to have excited the resentment and indignation of Baxter.

<sup>o</sup> See before, in this volume, p. 205, et seq.

His sermons, and other publications, in great number, are noticed in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*. He died in 1691.

XVII. We may consider Dr. *Hammond*, of whom mention has been made in the preceding narrative, as another of the assistants who supplied the Polyglot with Various Readings. And he was certainly one of <sup>†</sup>those, whose advice was to be occasionally requested in the progress of the work. Dr. Walton, in his Preface, mentions only in general terms the assistance of Dr. *Hammond*. But as Dr. *Hammond* had collated one of the Greek Manuscripts belonging to Magdalene College, to which Dr. Walton also resorted, as well as to a second Codex in the same collection; we may reasonably conclude, that the latter would gladly avail himself of the diligence, already employed upon one of them, by a scholar and divine of the highest reputation.

“ ‘The first MS. which I have myself twice compared,” Dr. *Hammond* has told us, “ I found in the place of my education, in the Library of St. Mary Magdalene College, in Oxford; a fair and ancient Copy.” This is the first of the Magdalene Manuscripts, noticed by Dr. Walton in the

<sup>†</sup> See this volume, p. 50.

<sup>†</sup> Pref. to his Paraphrase and Annotations upon the New Testament, first published in 1653.

Preface to the *Variantes Lectiones Græcæ Novi Testamenti*, and entitled by him *Novum Testamentum integrum, excepta Apocalypsi*; which also Dr. Mill collated; and which is mutilated of a few verses in the first chapter of St. Mark; and was written in the eleventh century. The second, of which Dr. Hammond makes no mention, Dr. Walton thus describes: *Epistolæ ad Romanos et Corinthios, cum Oecumenio, in Mag. Coll. Oxon.*

When Dr. Hammond published his *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Psalms*, the Polyglot was before the world. This afforded an opportunity to the excellent paraphrast of mentioning Dr. Walton with honour. “My first resort hath been to the ancient, learned, literal interpreters in many languages, as they are lately published with most advantage by the great diligence, and unwearied industry, of my very worthy and learned friend Dr. Walton.”

Dr. Hammond, whose name will never die while piety and learning are revered, was a native of Chertsey in Surrey; and became first a scholar or demy, and afterwards fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford. In 1632 he was presented to the valuable rectory of Penshurst, from

\* Preface to the Paraphrase on the Psalms.

\* A. Wood, Ath. Ox. and Fell's Life of Hammond.

which he was ejected in the Great Rebellion. In 1643 he obtained the archdeaconry of Chichester, and in the same year was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but, like Usher, disdained to come into it. At the treaty of Uxbridge he attended the king, in order to confer with the parliamentary commissioners upon the unhappy differences in church and state, the sophisms of whom, Wood says, he easily and perfectly dispersed. In 1645 he was made canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. Being prohibited by the enemies of the king, in 1647, from the discharge of the latter office, he retired to the former, only to experience soon afterwards, in the deprivation of it, the scorn and injury to which sound learning and religion were then exposed. To this succeeded an imprisonment of considerable duration. At length, released, he retired to the seat of Sir John Packington in Worcestershire; where, till his death, in 1660, he did much good, having the disposal of great charities entrusted to him, and having been considered as the most zealous promoter of alms-giving in England. The bishopric of Worcester was designed for him at the Restoration; when he died, at the premature age of fifty-five.

“ ‘ Much more might be said of this worthy per-

‘ Wood, Ath. Ox.



son," if I may adopt the forcible encomium of Wood; "but his life and death being extant, written by Dr. John Fell, his great admirer, [and often printed, I may add, in various forms,] I shall only now say that great were his natural abilities, greater his acquired; and that in the whole circle of arts he was most accurate. He was also eloquent in the tongues, exact in ancient and modern writers, well versed in philosophy and philology, most learned in school divinity, and a great master in church antiquity." The catalogue of his numerous works then follows; among which the Commentaries on the Psalms and the New Testament, and the Practical Catechism, have, to the praise and honour of the author, and to the instruction of millions, passed through very many editions. These, with his sermons and invaluable controversial pieces, and with Dr. Fell's account of him, have been also collected into four folio volumes.

Le Clerc published Dr. *Hammond's* notes on the New Testament with his own; which also were printed separately in 1699, and entitled *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations*. This Supplement, I must observe, produced in the same year "A Vindication of Dr. Hammond and his Paraphrase and Annotations, &c. from the rude and unjust reflections made upon him, and them, by M<sup>ons</sup>. Le Clerc, in his Sup-

plement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase, &c. With some brief animadversions on his letter prefixed to his Supplement." Sir Norton Knatchbull, I would lastly remark, in his address to the reader, prefixed to his most excellent *Annotations upon difficult Texts in the New Testament*, stating some cognate criticisms of Hammond and himself, very successfully clears his labours from the possible suspicion of plagiarism, and thus stamps additional value upon the production of his predecessor.

XVIII. It has <sup>a</sup> already appeared that Dr. Walton was desirous to obtain the notes of Mr. Patrick Young for his Polyglot, and that some of them are found in the sixth volume of the work. Of these notes we are now to speak. It is to be lamented, that they extend not beyond the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers. For they are of as great value and importance as any which enrich the volume. They were not, indeed, originally designed for the Polyglot; but having now their place in it, they and the author of them may not here be overpassed.

Mr. <sup>w</sup> Patrick Young was keeper of the royal library in the reigns of our first James and

<sup>a</sup> See before, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>w</sup> Wood Ath. Ox. and T. Smith, Vit. Patric. Junii.

Charles. He had been educated at the University of St. Andrew in Scotland, and was incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1605. The celebrated Alexandrian Manuscript, which had been presented by the patriarch of Constantinople in 1628 to the latter monarch, it was the intention of Mr. Young to publish; together with a collation of other Manuscript Copies of the Bible. He was much encouraged in his design by the Assembly of Divines in 1645, and an ordinance was issued for the publication; Selden and Whitlock having undertaken to print it. But it did not proceed. The Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians, found at the end of this Alexandrian Copy of the Bible, Mr. Young had published in 1633, with very curious and valuable notes, in which he was assisted by the eminently learned Bois, one of our translators of the Bible; and to which he prefixed an account both of the manuscript, and of the \* faith-

\* " Ad calcem venerandi hujus Codicis, (Alex. MS.) et *καταφρασεως*, in membranis laceris adjecta erat Clementis ad Corinthios Epistola, eadem manu scriptus, quam nunc bono publico et tuo usui in lucem damus; legisque Pythagoricæ non immemores, *nihil dementes, nihil de nostro addentes, non syllabam, non apicem, aut iota unum, fidelissimè, quantum fieri potuit, expressimus.* Voces autem deperditas, et literas vetustate exesas, spatiis et interstitiis, accuratissimè dimensis, pro ingenioli nostri tenuitate supplēvimus, et minio rubro (novo hoc et inusitato imprimendi ge-

ful as well as remarkable manner in which he had printed it.

In 1649, having joined the presbyterian party he relinquished the charge of the royal library, of which little care appears then to have been taken; the books there, according to Wood, being mostly embezzled; and, retiring into the country, died in 1652. To whom Dr. Walton was indebted for the notes of *Young*, which he has published, he has not informed us; but of the notes themselves the following is his description.

“*Patricii Junii, nuper bibliothecarii regii, annotationes doctissimas exhibemus, quas unà cum Versione Græca LXX. Interpr. juxta exemplar Alexandrinum MS. antiquissimum, seorsim edere ipse decreverat; in quibus textum MS. Alex. cum aliis exemplaribus impressis et MSS. fonte item Hebraico et veterum scriptorum monimentis confert. Cum antem notas suas non perficeret, (non enim ultra Numer. cap. 15. progressus est,) nec ipsum MS. exemplar morte ereptus in publicum dare potuit, visum est partui parente orbato succurrere, annotationes quas absolverat in lucem edendo, ut unà cum ipso MS. Alex. (quem*

*nere) notavimus, &c.*” The fragment of the second Epistle of Clemens, at the close of *Young's* notes upon the first, consists of no more than four leaves.

’ Bib. Polygl. vol. vi.

*in Bibliis nostris cum textu Græco imprimi curavimus,) simul prodirent lucubrationes istæ à doctis multum diuque desideratæ.*

“ Vocum quarundam explicatio.

“ *Exempl. Arab.* Exemplaria duo Pentateuchi MSS. ex Græco in Arabic. versa, in Bibliotheca Oxoniensi, Origenis obelis et asteriscis insignita.

“ *MS. Oxon.* Octateuchus Græcus MS. Collegii Universitatis Oxon. quem contulit D. *Junius* usque ad cap. 15. Numer. et varietates annotavit: cùm verò ulterius non sit progressus, reliqua etiam Octateuchi cum textu nostro collata inter nostras Venetæ et Complutensis editionis lectiones varias insertas lector inveniet.

“ *MS. Cotton.* Pentateuchus Græc. MS. liber omnium totius orbis (ut quidam conjiciunt) vetustissimus, olim in Bibliotheca D. Roberti Cotton, equitis aurati, asservatus; qui postea in manus Galli cujusdam pervenit, qui auctori nunquam reddidit. Hujus MS. partem aliquam contulit D. *Junius* cum aliis editionibus, cujus varietates aliquas hîc annotavit.

“ *MS. Sarrav.* Claudii Sarravii, regii in Parliam. Parisiensi consiliarii, fragmenta quædam Græca MSS. vetustissima Pentateuchi, Origenis obelis et asteriscis signata.”

Thus we observe the added labours of Dr. Walton to those of Mr. *Young*; and thus we are compelled to lament the irreparable loss of a most

ancient Manuscript, which had been lent by an ardent friend of learning, and was not returned.

XIX. Of the assistance in the Polyglot, afforded by those who now follow, there is no other remembrance either in the Preface of Dr. Walton, or in the sixth volume of the work, than that they "supplied books, or gave advice, or, generally speaking, were active in whatever they considered serviceable to the noble undertaking. Yet are they noticed in the original proposals for the publication of this Bible, either as persons who were to be consulted on particular occasions in the progress of it, or as superintendants of the charges incurred. Among the former of these was Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, afterwards the very munificent primate of all England; who is admitted by Bishop Burnet, who was no friend to him, to have been a learned man. And Lord

\* See what is said of Usher generally in the note (\*) p. 182. Then follows: "*Idem officium præstitarunt viri reverendi, amici mei multum honorandi, G. Fuller, G. Sheldonus, Brunus Ryvesius, R. Sandersonus, R. Sternus, S. Bakerus, H. Fearnus, J. Johnsonus, R. Drake, &c. quibus, aliisque omnibus, qui labores nostros animis benevolis prosecuti sunt, gratitudinis vinculo mecum omnes qui aliquid utilitatis ex hac editione percipere sunt obstricti tenentur.*" Of others, who are named with the preceding persons, some specific labour or communication has been found and stated.

Clarendon has said of him in his early days, that his learning, and gravity, and prudence, had then raised him to such a reputation, that when he was afterwards warden of All Souls College, in Oxford, he was looked upon as very equal to any preferment which the Church could yield, or since has yielded, to him.

It is said of him, that he was the first who publicly at Oxford denied the Pope to be Antichrist. This must have occurred in his academical exercise for a degree in divinity. "The doctor of the chair, (Dr. Poideaux,) wondering at it, said, *Quid, mi fili, negas Papam esse Antichristum?* Sheldon answered, *Etiams itego.* Dr. Poideaux replied, *Profecto auditum tibi debet Pontifex Romanus, et nullus debito quoniam primo cardinalatus te donabit!*" Hammond afterwards concurred in his denial.

He was clerk of the closet, and chaplain in ordinary, to King Charles the First; and by King Charles the Second was made Dean of the Chapel Royal, Bishop of London, and lastly Archbishop of Canterbury. By both sovereigns he was greatly valued, and to the latter during his exile he had contributed great assistance. Of his liberal and charitable spirit there remain mo-

\* Bishop Barlow's Remains, 1693, p. 192.

numents upon which he expended many thousand pounds ; not to mention the great sums of money which he gave in the time of the plague to relieve the necessitous, and at other times to redeem from captivity Christian slaves. These monuments are the theatre in Oxford, which cost him more than 16,000*l.* ; the rebuilding or reparation of the library at Lambeth Palace, into which he procured the books to be brought that had been, in the Great Rebellion, <sup>b</sup> taken from the palace, and delivered into the possession of the University of Cambridge ; 2,000*l.* towards the structure of St. Paul's Cathedral, having given a greater sum towards the repair of the old cathedral before the fire of London ; an abatement in his fines of nearly the same sum, in order to augment poor vicarages in his diocese ; and considerable benefactions to colleges. Wood relates from the communication of his Grace's nephew, Sir Joseph Sheldon, that this public-spirited prelate expended, in various acts of munificence and charity, no less than 66,000*l.* His treasurer, after his death, <sup>c</sup> attested the whole to have amounted to 72,000*l.* With how much

<sup>b</sup> See the note (\*) in this volume, p. 239.

<sup>c</sup> Le Neve's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, p. 192.



justice is he recorded, and with how much gratitude will he be ever remembered, as '*Pauperum parens, Literatorum patronus* !

XX. Selected for the same purpose with Dr. Sheldon, in regard to the Polyglot, was Dr. *Richard Sterne*, afterwards Archbishop of York; a man of eminency both as a scholar and a divine. He was the compiler of a very useful system of logic, and the author of Sermons, or a Commentary upon the 103d Psalm. To him, also, has been attributed, among others, but not justly, the composition of the '*Whole Duty of Man*. Of that excellent work the author yet remains to be discovered.

<sup>d</sup> Inscribed upon his monument in Croydon church.

• It had been before attributed to Dr. *Chappel*, Bishop of Cork and Ross; the manuscript of the work, in his handwriting, having been transmitted by Dr. *Sterne* to Dr. *Fell*, dean of Christ Church, to publish; which having been read by him beforehand to his pupils, it occasioned several to say, that the said Dr. *Sterne* was the author; as others said, because a copy of the same manuscript was found in her study after her death, that *Lady Packington* wrote it. Other prelates, (*Sancroft* and *Frewen*,) and many inferior persons have been named as the authors. But see Dr. *Lort's Enquiry concerning the author, or rather who was not the author, of the Whole Duty of Man*. *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 2. p. 597—604.

He was born at Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire, and was admitted first in Trinity College, Cambridge; whence he was elected to a fellowship of Beae't, and became afterwards master of Jesus College. With other members of the University, upon the commencement of the civil war, he was <sup>a</sup> active in conveying to the King, at Oxford, the Cambridge plate. Of their intention Cromwell had obtained information, and expected to intercept the loyal tribute. But it reached his Majesty by a circuitous road. The disappointment was revenged by Cromwell in his seizure of Dr. Sterne, and two other masters of colleges; and in carrying them with him to London in a sort of triumph. There they were at first imprisoned; afterwards <sup>b</sup> consigned to other

<sup>a</sup> Wood, Ath. Ox. and Le Neve's Lives of the Archbishops of York.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. And Ryves, Quæren Cantab. ed. 1695. p. 188.

<sup>b</sup> His own letter to one, who had been his pupil, is the best exposition of all the insults, and miseries, which other writers have represented him as enduring. See Le Neve, at supr. p. 247, et seq. It is dated Ely House, October 2, 1648. "This is now the fourteenth month of my imprisonment; nine weeks in the Tower; thirty weeks in Lord Petre's house; ten days in the ships; and seven weeks here in Ely House. The very dry fees and rents of these several prisons have amounted to above 100*l*., besides diet and all

prisons ; and at length sent on board a ship at Wapping, in which with many other gentlemen

other charges, which have been various and excessive.—At my living near Cambridge, they have not only taken the whole crop, but plundered and sold whatever goods of mine they found there.—They have robbed also the child that is yet unborn of the clothes it should be wrapped in. But upon my wife's address to the Committee at Cambridge, they had so much humanity as to make the sequestrators, though with much ado, restore them to her again. They have also forbidden our college-tenants to pay us any rents.—If I have any thing else that escapes their fingers, it is in such fingers out of which I cannot get it ; and that also I owe to the same goodness of the times ! So that if my friends' love had not made my credit better than it deserves to be, and supplied my occasions, I should have kept but an hungry and cold house both here and at home. And all this while I have never been so much as spoken withal, or called either to give or receive an account why I am here. Nor is any thing laid to my charge, *not so much as the general crime of being a malignant* ; no, not in the warrant for my commitment. What hath been wanting in human justice, hath been, I praise God, supplied by divine mercy. Health of body, and patience, and cheerfulness of mind, I have not wanted ; no, not on ship-board ; where we lay, the first night, without any thing under or over us but the bare decks, and the clothes on our backs ; and after we had some of us got beds, were not able, when it rained, to lie dry in them ; and when it was fair weather, were sweltered with heat, and stifled with our own breaths ; there being of us in that one small Ipswich coal-ship, so low-built, so that we could not walk nor stand upright in

of great rank they were put under hatches, and denied even the benefit of a breath of air by the malicious closure of every augur-hole, and inlet, through which it might be received. In making ships a prison for loyalists the rebels had two objects in view; one, to oppress their victims by the want of air and cleanliness; the other, to keep them in fear of being sent abroad as slaves, with which they were often threatened. It was in vain that Dr. *Sterne*, and his fellow-sufferers, petitioned to be heard. Nor did it avail them, that no accusation was brought, much less proved, against them. Whilst in this durance, Dr. *Sterne* was therefore deprived of his headship and other preferments. He was afterwards removed from the ship to some other place of confinement; out of which he was allowed a temporary release, in order to<sup>1</sup> attend upon his

it, within one or two of threescore; *whereof six knights, and eight doctors in divinity, and divers gentlemen of very good worth*, that would have been sorry to have seen their servants, nay their dogs, no better accommodated. Yet among all that company, I do not remember that I saw one sad or dejected countenance all the while; so strong is God, when we are weakest."

<sup>1</sup> "His [Archbishop Laud's] petition was, that in case he must die, Dr. *Sterne*, Dr. Heywood, and Dr. Martin, might be permitted to be with him before and at his death.—His speech and prayer being ended, he gave the paper which

patron, Archbishop Laud, in his last sad days, and at his last hour. At length, having lost all he had, his liberty was restored to him, and he found relief; first in the \* bounty of Lord Scudamore, the great friend of the loyal clergy in their distress; and afterwards by keeping a private school in Hertfordshire, till the Restoration; when he was promoted to the see of Carlisle, and in 1664 to that of York. He died in 1683, having nearly attained the age of eighty-seven. He was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference; and appears to have greatly offended Baxter by observing of him, that he had used the word *nation* instead of *kingdom*, in order that he might not seem to *own a king*. Baxter rebuked the prelate for his uncharitable supposition; and also maintained *his own word* by alleging the synonymous use of *both* in all monarchical writers. But he laments, that he had been deceived by "so promising a face" as that of Dr. Sterne;

he read into the hands of *Stern*, his chaplain, permitted to attend him in his last extremity; whom he desired to communicate it to his other chaplains, that they might see in what manner he left this world." Rushworth, &c. History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud, &c. pp. 443. 451.

\* Kennet, Reg. p. 861.

† Baxter, History of his Life and Times, P. II. p. 338.

and laments it so feelingly, that we are sorry there was then no physiognomist, with half the skill of modern times, to have given the good old champion of his cause a hint, how to judge infallibly of mental qualities by merely external marks!

XXI. Dr. *Robert Sanderson*, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, whose life written by *Isaac Walton* is familiar to every lover of English literature, was joined in the same office, with the two preceding prelates, for the service of the Polyglot. Yet this careful biographer has omitted the acknowledgment of Dr. Walton as to the assistance of Dr. *Sanderson*; which, however, the learned<sup>a</sup> editor of the several interesting lives by the same pen has not overpassed.

The services of Dr. *Sanderson* as a casuist, as a scholar profoundly learned, and as a divine of exquisite piety and judgment, will never be forgotten. It has been well said of his sermons, that<sup>a</sup> what he has written in that way is all gold, and thoroughly refined. For the style of them is no less pure than the argumentation is perspicuous. Nor was he undistinguished as an antiquary and indefatigable searcher into ancient records; such employment of time having been

<sup>a</sup> The late Dr. Zouch, prebendary of Durham.

<sup>a</sup> Wotton, Thoughts on studying Divinity.

not only abundantly and usefully exemplified in his own collections, but recommended, at his primary visitation, in his admonitions to the clergy. The admonition is so curious and important, and perhaps singular in the history of episcopal addresses, that I am induced to copy it; especially as Isaac Walton has not noticed it. "° The clergy within the county of Lincoln are desired to bring with them in writing a note of all such coats of arms as are in the church windows, and of all such monuments, grave-stones, and inscriptions, whether of ancient or later times, as are yet remaining in their several respective churches or chapels, or the chancels thereof."

Dr. *Sanderston*\* was a native of Rotherham, in Yorkshire, and fellow of Lincoln College, in Oxford. He was beneficed in Lincolnshire, and a prebendary both in the collegiate church of Southwell, and in the cathedral of Lincoln. Afterwards he was chaplain to King Charles the First, by whom he was appointed, in 1642, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. In 1643 he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, and followed the example of his friends, Usher and Hammond, in declining all connection with them. He attended the King in the Isle of

° Kennet, Reg. p. 728.

\* Wood. Ath. Ox. Isaac Walton's Lives, &c.

Wight, and at the desire of his Majesty wrote the *Judgment of Episcopacy*, when the parliament proposed to abolish it. By the parliamentary visitors in 1648 he was ejected from his professorship; when he retired to his benefice in Lincolnshire, where he was plundered, wounded, and confined as a prisoner. At the Restoration he was restored to his professorship, and with it to his canonry of Christ Church; and in the same year advanced to the see of Lincoln. He had then seen more than threescore years and ten; and he enjoyed his well-earned honour beyond two years more. Of his works the catalogue given both by Wood, and Dr. Zouch, is extremely curious. Having adorned and benefited the Church of England, as well by his example as his writings, he left this record of zeal and affection for it in his will. “<sup>a</sup> I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die, in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ, and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the Word of God, and in the most, and most material points of both, conformable to the faith and practice of the godly Churches of Christ in the primitive and purer times, I do

<sup>a</sup> Isaac Walton's Life of him.



firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education, (to which the greatest part of mankind owe their particular different persuasions in point of religion,) as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason, after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds, as well of Popery as Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding and those opportunities which God hath afforded me: and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the schism which the Papists on the one hand, and the superstition which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable upon themselves respectively. Wherefore I humbly beseech Almighty God, the Father of mercies, to preserve the Church by his power and providence in peace, truth, and godliness, evermore to the world's end."

XXII. Dr. *Henry Ferne*, or *Fearne*, afterwards Bishop of Chester, was another general assistant in the Polyglot; "'a person of singular piety, learning, and wisdom." He was the eighth son of Sir John Ferne, Knight, and born at York. Having received education in the free-school of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, he became in 1618 a member of St. Mary Hall, Ox-

ford; whence in 1620 he removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a fellow. He was afterwards presented by that society to a benefice in Yorkshire, which he relinquished for another in Leicestershire bestowed upon him by a relation, to which the Bishop of Lincoln added the archdeaconry of that county. In this residence opportunity occurred to him of waiting upon the King in his way to Nottingham, and of preaching before him. Firmly attached to the royal cause, he published his *Case of Conscience touching Rebellion*, without concealing his name; and is said to have been the first, who drew the pen in the service of his Majesty. The king made him his chaplain. But he was driven by the parliamentary party from his benefice, and sought shelter at Oxford. Afterwards his Majesty sent for him to the Isle of Wight, where he was the last that preached before him. During the Usurpation he employed

\* There is in an uncommon little book, containing poems on the death of Lord Bacon, and published in 1626, a *carmen sepulchrale*, written by *Ferne*, then fellow of this society. He again exercised his poetical talent, when vice-chancellor of the University in 1661, in the verses which open and conclude the *Threni Cantabrigienses in funere duorum Principum*, &c. printed in that year.

himself in 'defending the Church of England against the Church of Rome. He had been \* designed for a bishopric, as were his friends Hammond, Sheldon, and Walton, in the year 1659. But at the Restoration he did not immediately obtain it ; being then advanced, first, to the mastership of his college, and next to the deanery of Ely. Yet he waited not long for the mitre. Upon the death of the editor of the Polyglot, he was promoted to the see of Chester ; in which, like his predecessor, he was only as " " a guest that tarrieth but a day." For he died at the house of his kinsman, Mr. \* Nevil, in St. Paul's

\* He published, in 1653 and 1655, *Considerations of present concernment touching the Reformed Church of England, against A. Chamfunds*, Doctor of the Sorbonne. On the Case as it stands between the Church of England and of Rome, &c. And of the Division between the English and Romish Church upon the Reformation.

" "The King gave authority to Dr. Dappa, then bishop of Salisbury, and other bishops, to consecrate Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Lacy, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Walton, and the warrant was brought from Brussels by Mr. Allectrey, in May, 1659." Note in Barwick's Life, cited by Bishop Kennet, Reg. p. 644.

" Wisdom, v. 14.

" His brother-in-law, a draper in London ; to whom he left all his books, " with the *Great New Bible* [the Polyglot] in six volumes," excepting only a few for friends named in his will. Kennet, pp. 644, 645.

Church-Yard, the 16th of March, 1661, being the fifth Sunday after his consecration. His sufferings and sorrow under the Usurpation <sup>7</sup> are said to have emaciated his body. His remains were interred with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey, <sup>8</sup> accompanied to the grave by two heralds. Much was expected from him, as to beneficence and learning; much appears to have been known of his remarkable devotion and piety, of his ingenuous and amiable disposition, and of his public spirit. Evelyn, just before the Restoration, gratefully records his meeting with “<sup>9</sup> Dr. *Ferne* and other devout and learned divines, firm confessors, and excellent persons.” So celebrated was he for his perspicuous and forcible resolutions of the differences between the King and Parliament, ~~and~~ between the Churches of England, Geneva, and Rome, that the two adverse parties confessed, that “<sup>10</sup> *the Church of England's cause never looked so clearly, and so devoutly, in any writings, as in those of Dr. Ferne.*”

XXIII. Dr. *William Fuller*, the father-in-

<sup>7</sup> Salmon's *Lives of English Bishops*, 1733. p. 380.

<sup>8</sup> Wood's MSS. ut supr.

<sup>9</sup> Mem. vol. 1. p. 307.

<sup>10</sup> Eachard's *Hist. of Eng.* cited by Kennet, p. 644. Dr. Ferne's *Episcopacy and Presbytery considered*, 1647, has been particularly admired.

law of Dr. Walton, is also in the same general terms acknowledged as a coadjutor in the work ; and was one of those who signed the original letter in recommendation of the undertaking, and of those also to whom the pecuniary concerns of it were entrusted. He obtained at Cambridge the character of a 'good linguist, as well as of a general scholar. To the preferments, which he once possessed, of the vicarage of St. Giles-Cripplegate in London, and the Deanery of Ely, may be added his nomination by the king to the deanery of Durham, after the dismal standard of the Great Rebellion had been unfurled. The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to find, that Dr. Fuller, for his loyalty and orthodoxy was deprived by the rebels of all advantage from these preferments ; that he was plundered also, and imprisoned. He \* appears to have lived, during the Usurpation, obscurely near his parish-church in London ; and died in 1659. The rites of burial in that church were 'denied to his remains. In his

\* See before, p. 54.

† Wood, Fast. Ox. sub ann. 1646.

• See before, p. 29.

' He was buried in the church of St. Vedast, Foster-lane. Walker's Suff. of the Clergy, P. II. p. 19. Part of his epitaph may be cited : " Ob fidem in Principem, et constantiam in vera religione, bonis perituris spoliatus, æternis in

distress he was one of the many Clergy <sup>a</sup> relieved by the munificent Lord Scudamore.

XXIV. Dr. *Bruno Ryces* was exactly of the same description with Dr. Fuller, in regard to the promotion of the great work. We have <sup>b</sup> seen him also assisting Dr. Walton in the business of the London Tithes. He <sup>c</sup> was a native of Dorsetshire, first a clerk in New College, Oxford, and then a chaplain in Magdalene College; afterwards vicar of Stanwell in Middlesex, and rector of St. Martin-Vintry, London. He was a noted preacher, according to Wood; and as such is recorded on the monument erected to his memory, with the addition that his abilities of this kind from his younger days to old age were exceeded by none. Having preached, however, and otherwise exerted himself in behalf of the king, it will not be wondered that at the commencement of the Great Rebellion his oratory was lost upon factious parishioners. They proceeded, indeed with admirable hesitation thus to question also his doctrine!

*calo fruitur. Tandem sepultura juxta ritus ecclesie, per barbariem pseudo-vicarii, et ingratiitudinem eorum inter quos ut lucerna ardens seipsum consumpserat, negata, requiem hic invenit."*

<sup>a</sup> Kennet, Reg. p. 861.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Wood, Ath. Ox.

"<sup>k</sup> We the inhabitants of *Stanwell* thought good to certifie to your worships [some of the Committees]: what doctren our doctor Mr. *Reeves* talt upon this last Saboth, being 3d. July, 1642; that we oft to obey the king in all his commands; that there were some Brownists and Anabaptists in these times that did comand contrary to the king's commands, but we oft not to obey their commands, for they seek to shake off all obedience to lawful authority; aleding some skriptures, that we weare damned if we persist in it: wherefore we your petitioners and inhabitants of *Stanwell* desir to be resolved in these points which so neerely consernes us. (Signed,)

"*Henry Southern*, and six others."

Dr. *Ryces* was soon afterwards deprived of his benefices; and *Stanwell* was supplied with one of the parliamentary preachers, better qualified to command attention, and to scare away any scepticism even with a look. For, not content with calling the regular clergy dumb dogs, idle drones, and blind seers, "<sup>l</sup> the parliamentary preachers made wry mouths, squint eyes, and screwed faces, quite altering them from what God and nature had made them!"

<sup>k</sup> Grey's Exam. of Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. 3, Appendix, p. 18.

<sup>l</sup> Wood's Annals of the Univ. of Oxford, sub ann. 1646:

The expulsion of Dr. *Ryves* from his preferment was attended with no assuasive circumstances. His wife, children, and all his family, with himself, are "said to have been taken out of their beds at midnight, and turned out of doors, and to have had no other defence from the wet and cold of that night than a hedge. From his miserable situation he was rescued by Lord Arundel. Nor was he so much dismayed as to cease publishing, while the civil war lasted, the "Country's complaint of the barbarous outrages committed by the sectaries in this late flourishing kingdom;" an occasional work, better known by the name of *Mercurius Rusticus*; in which the hypocrisy, as well as cruelty, of the puritans is powerfully exposed, and the language of inflammatory preachers even then is found to vie with the levelling spirit of later times, (to say the least of it,) in asserting "that the relation of master and servant hath no ground or warrant in the New Testament;" and yet, "that it is fit that the nobility and gentry should serve their servants;" and lastly, "that learning hath always been an enemy to the Gospel, and that it were a happy thing if there were no Universities, &c.

Dr. *Ryves*, in order to escape the revenge of

<sup>a</sup> Walker, Suff. of the Clergy, Part II. p. 19.

<sup>b</sup> *Mercurius Rusticus*, ch. 3. p. 21, ed. 1625.



such reformers, often changed his residence during the Usurpation. At length, at the Restoration, he was rewarded with the deanery of Windsor, and soon afterwards with the rectory of Acton in Middlesex ; where Baxter appears to have differed with him, but leads us to place the less value on his declaration, in saying, “ ° we lived in *seeming* love and peace ! ” Dr. *Ryoes* died in 1677, and had passed the age of eighty.

XXV. Dr. *Samuel Baker*, named by Dr. Walton as a coadjutor, was also one of those who superintended the expences of the work. He had been fellow of Christ College ; and at one time a <sup>p</sup> puritanical preacher in London, much followed ; but, relinquishing the pursuits and manners of the puritans, he became chaplain to Juxon, bishop of London ; from whom he obtained a prebend, and other benefices ; still applauded by some, as Wood dryly relates, for his preaching. He had been incorporated, in 1623, M.A. at Oxford. The puritans, as their charitable manner was, represented his promotion as accompanied with a particular judgment. “ <sup>q</sup> Being desired to present a petition from a minister to the bishop

° *Baxter's Life and Times*, Part III. p. 46.

<sup>p</sup> Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* And Walker, *Suff. of the Clergy*, Part II. p. 7.

<sup>q</sup> *Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 985, fol. 264. 6.* Copied by bishop Kennet from a publication in 1642.

for a vacant prebend, he carried the matter *so craftily, that he had it for himself*: yet it did him no good: for, ere night, the weight of his body broke his leggs!" If the prebend thus did Dr. Baker no good, Dr. Baker himself survived the accident, (if such an accident really occurred,) and did much good, if it were only in rendering aid to the progress of the Polyglot. Wood has represented him as a great licenser of books, and as having displeased the puritans for his partiality in that character; for which, and for his respect to the tenets of Arminius, he was, in the beginning of the Great Rebellion, imprisoned, and at length deprived of his preferments. In fact, he had "' refused to license *every fantastic pretender* against Popery and Arminianism;" a caution which, in those times, could not fail to escape the name and punishment of a crime. Archbishop Land pronounced him an "' able and honest man." He had been promoted to a canonry of Windsor, in 1638, which he resigned upon obtaining a prebend of Canterbury. He died about the time of the Restoration.

XXVI. Dr. *Richard Drake*, in the same way with Dr. Baker, assisted Dr. Walton. He had been fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and

<sup>r</sup> Walker, ut *supr.*

<sup>s</sup> Hist. of the Troubles, &c. of Abp. Land, p. 367.

one of the taxers in the University, in 1637. After the Restoration he was 'appointed one of the twelve University-preachers, and was created, with others, doctor in divinity, for the following reason assigned in the King's letter, "that the violence of the late commotions having had so sad an influence upon the two Universities, that divers scholars of integrity and good learning had been hindered in the due way of proceeding to their respective degrees; and that his Majesty being well satisfied of the full standing, sufficiency, and merit, of Edmund Porter, *Richard Drake*, Anthony Sparrow, &c. to be admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity, dispensed with the irregularities that might relate to the affair." He was 'advanced in 1663 to the chancellorship of the Church of Salisbury, and died in 1681.

XXVII. Mr. *John Johnson*, preacher at the Temple, is the only assistant named by Dr. Walton, of whom no especial employment in regard to the work is found. He was probably the person of \* both those names, who was fellow of Magdalene College, in Oxford; of whom Dr.

\* Kennet, Reg. p. 490.

▪ Ibid, p. 220.

▼ Le Neve, Fast. p. 269.

▪ See Abp. Laud's Hist. of his Chanc. at Oxf. p. 210.

Bainbridge, in a letter to Archbishop Usher, dated from Oxford, July 20, 1629, has furnished this memorial. "Whereas our Turkey merchants, trading at Aleppo, being now destitute of a minister, have referred the choice of one unto yourself; may it please you to understand, that there is one Mr. Johnson, a fellow of Magdalen College, who hath spent some years in the Oriental languages; and, being desirous to improve his knowledge therein, is content to adventure himself in the voyage. He would take pains to preach once a week, but not oftener; being desirous to spend the rest of his time in perfecting his languages, and making such other observations as may tend to the advancement of learning. If your Grace upon these terms please to recommend him to the merchants, I dare engage my credit for his civil and sober behaviour, and his best endeavours to do your Grace all respective service. I do not commend an indigent fellow, enforced to run a desperate hazard of his fortunes; but a learned gentleman of fair hopes, and presently well furnished with all things needful to a scholar."

He appears to have incurred the displeasure of archbishop Laud in \* preaching upon subjects, in

\* Parr's Lett. of Abp. Usher, &c. p. 411. See also what is said before of Pocock, in this volume, p. 216.

\* Abp. Laud's Hist. ut supr.

1640, which had been forbidden by the declaration and command of the king prefixed to the Articles of Religion; to have acknowledged his sorrow for the offence; and to have been dismissed, after making the formal retraction required of him.

XXVIII. We find, in the Preface to the Polyglot, an acknowledgment from Dr. Walton of the kindness also of Dr. Meric Casaubon, prebendary of Canterbury; the well-known learned son of a very learned parent, the critic Isaac Casaubon. This kindness was shewn in the <sup>a</sup> communication of a copy, such as it was, of the Jerusalem Targum. Dr. Casaubon was a great sufferer during the Usurpation; and while we read, with sorrow and pity, the distress into which he was driven, and mark the reluctance with which he proposed to part with the Manuscripts of his father for the relief of that distress; we behold, with admiration, the generous assistance which Selden had occasionally bestowed upon him, and the delicacy with which this necessitous scholar acknowledges it. The following

<sup>a</sup> Præf. "Targum sive paraphrasin Hierosolymitanam cum versione Lat. Cevallerii ipsius manu scripta, quam mihi communicavit vir doctiss. *Mericus Casaubonus*, Isaaci filius, S.T.D. in multis tamen ita vitiosa, ut in ea repurganda emendanda multum operæ insumendum esset."

letter to archbishop Usher contains this interesting relic of literary history.

“<sup>b</sup> May it please your Grace,

“ I was with Mr. *Selden*, after I had been with your Grace ; whom, upon some intimation of my present condition and necessities, I found so honourable, as that he did not only presently furnish me with a very considerable sum, but was so free and forward in his expressions, as that I could not find in my heart to tell him much (somewhat I did) of my purpose of selling, lest it might sound as a further pressing upon him, of whom I had already received so much. Neither indeed will I now sell so much as I intended ; for I did not think (besides what I have in the country) to keep any at all that would yield any money. Now, I shall ; and, among them, those Manuscripts I spoke of to your Grace, and Jerom's Epistles particularly ; the rather, because I make use of it in my *De Cultu Dei*, (the first part whereof your Grace hath seen,) which I think will shortly be printed. As for my father's papers, I do seriously desire to dispose of them some way, if I can, to my best advantage, but with a respect to their preservation and safety ; which I think would be, if some library, either

<sup>b</sup> Parr's Letters of Archbishop Usher, &c. p. 555.

here, or beyond the seas, had them. I pray, good my Lord, help me in it if you can; and, when you have an opportunity, confer with Mr. *Selden* about it. I will shortly (within these few weeks, God willing,) send a note to your Grace of what I have that is considerable, and will part with. Not but that I had much rather keep them, had I any hopes at all ever to be accommodated with books, and leisure to fit them for publick use myself. But that I have no hopes of; and certainly, so disposed of as I would have them in my life-time, they will be safer than in my keeping, in that condition I am. It would be a great ease to my mind, to see that well done; for I have always reckoned of them as of my life; and if any mischance should come to them whilst they are in my keeping, (and indeed they have been in danger, more than once, since this my tumbling condition,) I should never have any comfort of my life, &c.

“ So I humbly take my leave,

“ Your Grace’s in all humble duty,

“ *Mer. Casaubon.*”

“ London, Oct. 21, 1650.

XXIX. The preceding narrative brings the illustrious *Selden* before our eyes in the most amiable point of view. From his works, we know that no layman of his time could come

near him in the knowledge of sacred as well as profane antiquity. Of the project of Dr. Walton he was, from the first, a promoter. He<sup>c</sup> signed, with Archbishop Usher, the forcible letter in recommendation of it. He was<sup>d</sup> one of those, who were to be consulted in the progress of the work. He<sup>e</sup> supplied the editor with what his valuable library afforded. I need say no more of this great friend, or dictator, (as he has been sometimes called,) of learning of the English nation, than refer the reader to the character beautifully drawn of him by the pen of Lord Clarendon.

XXX. In the sixth volume of the Polyglot, it must be added, the services of Mr. *William Norris*, fellow of Peter House, are<sup>f</sup> acknowledged by Dr. Walton, for a careful collation of Isaiah, accompanied with learned remarks.

XXXI. Lastly, the Preface of Dr. Walton records literary obligation also to<sup>g</sup> *Claude Hardie*;

<sup>c</sup> See this volume, p. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

<sup>e</sup> Præf. Bib. Pol. "Arabica Versionem *Selden* commodavit, &c." See also Dr. Wilkins's *Life of Selden*, &c.

<sup>f</sup> "Essaias ex Codice MS. Rupifucaldio, &c." Bib. Pol. vi. 109.

<sup>g</sup> Præf. p. x. where "vir illustris Dom. *Gaulmin*, eques," is specially noticed; over which, in many copies, is pasted a little piece of printed paper, containing, instead of *Gaulmin's* name, "Dom. *Hardie*, linguarum Orientalium



and rather in a curious manner; as, in some of the leaves he is distinguished with what had been assigned to another person. The editor has likewise spoken of others, who had assisted him. "*Alia quædam occurrunt*," he says, "*tomo primo et ultimo, quæ aliorum vigiliis debentur; quæ, cum auctoribus doctissimis propriis locis accepta referam, nolo hîc repetere.*" Such we have discovered in the preceding brief notices of his coadjutors. It seems as if all the learned men of the time were in readiness, when wanted, to lend their aid to Dr. Walton. It is thus that we may account for the venerable names of <sup>a</sup> *Cudworth*, and *Gataker*, and *Duport*, and *Worthington*, contemporary scholars of the highest attainments, being inserted, in some of the original proposals for the work, as designed superintendants of it. Nor were there wanting eminent assistants in another important point, that of procuring contributions towards the progress of the undertaking. Such in particular were the University of Cambridge collectively, and the masters of colleges distinctly; such were the bishops, nobility, and gentry, whom Dr.

peritissimus." Gaulmin was indeed but a pretender to critical knowledge: Hardie was a real scholar. See *Nichols's Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 4. p. 12.

<sup>a</sup> See this volume, p. 49.

Walton has named in his Preface ; and such were the reverend and learned Thomas Cawton, a distinguished oriental scholar ; and Dr. John Sherman ; noted not only for his zeal in the cause of this immortal work, but in that of every loyal and learned design.

For these evidences of successful exertion, made by men truly learned, pious, and judicious, Dr. Walton has not failed to <sup>1</sup>repeat the exaltation of a grateful scholar ; predicting at the same time, with unerring sagacity, that his work **WOULD LIVE IN AFTER AGES**, when the invectives of his enemies would be buried in oblivion.

<sup>1</sup> See both his Preface to the Polyglot, and the conclusion of his Considerator considered.

# **APPENDIX**

**CONTAINING**

**NOTICES OF ADDITIONS MADE,**

**OR,**

**PROPOSED TO BE MADE,**

**TO THE**

**LONDON POLYGLOT;**

**AND A**

**COPY OF THE DEDICATION OF THIS POLYGLOT**

**TO**

**KING CHARLES II.**

**REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING PAGES.**



## No. I.

### OF ADDITIONS TO THE LONDON POLYGLOT BIBLE, AND OF PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS IN REGARD TO IT.

THE work, which Dr. Walton edited, was scarcely finished, when an additional or seventh volume was projected, and announced, by <sup>a</sup> some of his assistants; principally by Mr. Clarke. It was intended to contain,

<sup>b</sup> I. The Targum on the Books of Chronicles, which has since been published by Dr. David Wilkins.

II. An Arabic Pentateuch.

III. An Arabic Psalter, more conformable to the Hebrew text than that which had been published.

IV. The Prophets, in Arabic.

V. Arabic Fragments of the Apocryphal Books.

VI. A second Targum on the Book of Esther.

<sup>a</sup> See what has already been said, in the preceding Memoirs, of Clarke, pp. 246, 247; and of Greaves, pp. 226, 227.

<sup>b</sup> Detailed in Castell's Preface to his Lexicon, Twells's Life of Pocock, and Dr. Clarke's Bibliograph. Dict.

VII. The Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, in Hebrew.

VIII. The four Gospels, in Syriac, of a different translation from that followed by Dr. Walton; which formerly belonged to the learned Pocock.

IX. A fourth Book of the Maccabees, in Syriac.

X. The poetical parts of the Scripture, in Ethiopic.

XI. The Psalms, in Persian.

XII. Hieronymi Versio Psalterii.

The volume bore this title: *Septimum Bibliorum Polyglotton Volumen, cum versionibus antiquissimis non Chaldaica tantum, sed Syriacis, Ethiopicis, Copticis, Arabicis, Persicis, contextum.* It has been \* considered as reposing in the Bodleian Library, which is not the case. Nor is it known, I believe, where it now exists.

About twenty-five years after the publication of the London Polyglot, Father Simon (under the signature of *Adamantius*) published *Novorum Bibliorum Polyglottorum Synopsis*, viz. in 1684. His intention was not to enlarge, but abridge, the noble work, of which he has spoken, at the opening of his project, with no friendly voice, and certainly not with the voice of truth. "Immensum illud

\* Dibdin, *Introduct. to the Classics*, 3d edit. vol. i. p. 23.

<sup>a</sup> Nov. Bib. Polygl. Syn. pp. 3; 4.

**Polyglottorum opus, quod Parisiis primò editum, deinde Londini recoctum, fuit, in brevem summam contrahere instituti : in eo quippè multa inutilia, ac sæpius repetita ! Quid enim necesse erat Judaicum et Samariticum legis Judaicæ exemplaria excudere integra, quæ in perpaucis, si characteres excipias, inter se discrepant ? Simili ratione Syriacas, Arabicas, Chaldaicas, et alias, si quæ sint, translationes ex Ebraico contextu, vel ex LXX Interpretibus, desumptas fuisse constat ; adeoque nihil causæ fuit cur illæ, ubi cum Ebræo vel Græco unde translatae sunt conspirant, denuò recuderentur. Ut ista repetitionum confusio, quæ lectoribus molesta est, tolleretur, quicquid vetustorum adhuc Bibliorum editum est, in unum veluti corpus conjeci, resectis his omnibus quæ superflua videbantur. Ebraicum duntaxat contextum, Græcos et Latinos utriusque Ecclesiæ Orientalis et Occidentalis Codices sub quatuor columnis digestos retineo ; cæterorum verd Codicum discrepantias vel in marginem refero, vel infra libri paginas in annotationibus subjeci, ut ex convenientia exemplarium, et eorum differentiis, novum ac contractum Bibliorum Polyglottorum opus habeatur." The design did not meet with admirers ;**

\* It was opposed. See Le Long, Biblioth. Sac. cap. 1. Bib. Polygl. Tentata.

and no wonder: for the criticisms of the projector betray great want of judgment in his appreciation of the London Polyglot, as well as a paltry hope of gaining to his side the indolent and uninformed by an accommodating but unsatisfactory epitome.

But before the Synopsis of Simon had appeared, the Targum on the Books of Chronicles, which was to have formed part of the seventh volume of the Polyglot, was published in two parts; with the following title: "*Paraphrasis Chaldaica 1<sup>mi</sup> Libri Chronicorum, hactenus inedita et multum desiderata, nunc verò è Codice MS. antiquo membranaceo Bibliothecæ Rev. Ministerii Erfordiensis A. C. exscripta, et juris publici primùm facta, cura atque opera M. F. Beckii, Conf. et Eccles. Aug. Ministri. Cujus etiam Versio Latina, et in illum Notæ, simul prodeunt. Aug. Vindel. 1680. Paraphrasis 2<sup>a</sup> Lib. in 1683.*" This learned editor would have published the work sooner, if he had not been led, by the intimation in the preface of Dr. Castell to his Lexicon, to expect the publication of the Targum from the Cambridge Manuscript by Mr. Clarke. At length this Manuscript found an editor in Dr. Wilkins; and it was given to the world with this title: "*Paraphrasis Chaldaica in Librum Priorem et Posteriores Chronicorum, auctore Rabbi Josepho, Rectore Academiæ in*



Syria, nunc demum è *MS. Cantabrigiensi* descripta, ac cum Versione Latina in lucem missa. Amst. 1715." He thus speaks of the work, and of the preceding editor. Præf. a. 2. "Nulatenus autem miror quare nunquam adhuc integrum Librorum Chronicorum Targum exhibuerint Judæi, (quod enim Cl. *Beckius* Augustæ Vindelicorum anno 1680 in 4to. typis impressit, mutilum quàm maximè ac plenum errorum est,) quia, ut *Elias Levita* ait, *paucissima Hagiographorum Targumim inter ipsos Judæos extabant exemplaria.*" — Again: "Codex manuscriptus Paraphrasin Chaldaicam Librorum Chronicorum (quam modò exhibeo) continens è Bibliotheca Erpeniana à Duce Buckinghamiæ, Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Cancellario, emptus, Publicæ Universitatis illius Bibliothecæ dono datus ibi conservatur. Scriptus est textu Hebraico <sup>1</sup> alternatim posito manu pereleganti in pergam. anno Christi millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo septimo, uti ex clausula totius libri (qui *Psalmos, Proverbia, Jobum, Danielelem, Ezram, Nehemiam, et Paraleipomena, unà cum Targum cujuslibet ferè continet*) apparet.—Exscripserat idem hoc Targum olim Dn. *Samuel Clericus,*

<sup>1</sup> See also what Walton says of a Manuscript, Prolegom. xii. §. 6. And his Considerator considered, Chap. xiii, §. 16.

architypographus Oxoniensis, quod cum Versione Latina et aliis S. Scripturæ Libris, Arabicis, Persicis, Syriacis, &c. in lucem dare promisit; sed, præmatura morte ereptus, mihi hoc negotium perficiendum reliquit. Nullum, lector benevole, Paraphrasi nostræ Chaldaicæ addere volui Commentarium, ne memetipsum potius quàm Manuscriptum edere videar. Cl. *Beckius* hoc fecit, ut defectum *Manuscripti Erfordiensis* eruditione notarum excusaret ac adimpleret.—Targum nostrum, nativæ ornatum pulchritudine, alienis non egeat coloribus fucisve. Attamen, illustrationis gratia, nonnulla maximè necessaria paucissimis hîc adnotare lubet paginis.” Dr. *Wilkins* notices the omissions and faults of the *Codex Erfordiensis*.

After the account of this necessary addition to the *London Polyglot*, I come next to speak of another proposed enlargement of the work; which seems not to have met with the encouragement, which it courted, both of a great literary patron, and of one of our Universities. It appeared in “A Discourse concerning the Usefulness of the Oriental Translations of the Bible, for explaining the difficult passages in it, and reconciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew. *Being a Proposal for printing the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Armenian Versions, as a Supplement to Bishop Walton's Polyglot.* Addressed to the

Right Honourable the *Earl of Oxford*. To which are added two Epistles in verse; one to the said *Earl*, imploring his patronage of so great a work; the other to the *University of Cambridge*, soliciting that learned body's assistance in it. London, 1735. Printed, and sold by Fletcher Gyles in Holborn, and by Mr. Hildyard at York, and Mr. Ryles at Hull, booksellers." This discourse was anonymous; but we shall soon meet with the author. "As to what is proposed at present," he says, "instead of *Hosea*, three or four more of the Minor Prophets will be presented to the public at a proper convenience, as a specimen of the rest, intended to follow, after due preparation, if the author can procure Ethiopic types to answer his design. The reason of this alteration is, that these <sup>a</sup> four Books have been printed in the Ethiopic Version about eighty years ago, which the author hopes to procure; and as he proposes to add this Version, if he can be supplied with it, to the Hebrew and Greek in all the rest, he conceives it will give a better idea of the ensuing work, to add the Ethiopic Version in his specimen, which is intended

<sup>a</sup> *Disce. ut supra*, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>b</sup> He means those of Joel, Jonah, Zephaniah, and Malachi. In manuscript we have the Old Testament entire, as well as the New, in Ethiopic. See bishop Marsh's *Hist. of Transl. of the Scriptures*, p. 26.

according to this plan. First, the Hebrew text of Athias with Various Readings, or Emendations, where proper, in the margin: Next, the Greek Version according to the Alexandrian Manuscript, which the author proposes to transcribe with his own hand: Collateral to that, the *Variantes* of all the Copies and Editions of note: To all which will be added the Ethiopic, with the Latin Version of the Septuagint, compiled out of the works of the Fathers by Flaminius Nobilius, which will also serve the Ethiopic in the same quality, the differences being observed at the bottom of the page. The whole will be preceded with a Prolegomena, and Notes to confirm and reconcile the Hebrew and Greek texts.

“<sup>1</sup> It is a great pity,” he observes, “*that bishop Walton’s Polyglot is destitute of such a Supplement as was proposed*, whereby the noblest work of its kind, in the world, was left imperfect, for no other reason, but that the learned editor was disappointed of his expected supplies, and some of these Versions he could not procure. But since his time the Armenian Scriptures entire have been printed, and some of them reprinted, in Holland, with great accuracy and elegance, under the direction of the Armenian patriarch.

<sup>1</sup> Disc. ut supr. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> By Mr. Clarke. See before, p. 322.

"<sup>1</sup> The Coptic New Testament not long since, and the Pentateuch the last year, were printed among us by a very learned <sup>m</sup> gentleman, whose labours deserve the best encouragement.

"<sup>a</sup> There is another Version, of which good use might be made, though, as I apprehend, it has never been brought out of the East entire, where, I suppose, it is not unfrequent; and that is the second or later Syriac Version from the Septuagint; which, if any Copy of it may be had, marked throughout with Origen's asterisks, &c. like Masius's fragments, will be of great value. Dr. Grabe made great enquiry after this imperfect Copy, from which Masius published the Book of Joshua, and waited a long time in hopes of it, which was at last procured for him by Dr. Jablonski; but in the mean time Grabe died. But these fragments happen unluckily to contain only such Books of Scripture, in which they are not serviceable to our design, as they would have been, had they contained the Prophets."—

The design was exhibited in no other way till the year 1743, in which appeared, as a speci-

<sup>1</sup> Disc. ut supr. p. 13.

<sup>a</sup> He means Dr. David Wilkins; who is also said to have proposed a publication, in Coptic, of the Psalms, Daniel, and the twelve Minor Prophets; together with a Coptic Grammar and Lexicon.

<sup>b</sup> Disc. ut supr. p. 27.

mon, in three pages, part of the *Prophetia Obadiæ, Hebraicè, Græcè, et Latine, &c.* with a dedication to archbishop Potter; and, in two pages, part of the *Canticum Canticorum Solomonis*, (dated 1744) *Hebraicè, Græcè, Latine, Æthiopicè, et Anglicè*; printed at Cambridge; and bearing the editor's name; *Johannes Mauer, S.T.D.* At the close of these few leaves, in which he expressly announces his labours as an intended supplement to those of Walton, we find "Proposals for printing by subscription a volume of Holy Scripture containing the twelve Minor Prophets, according to the specimen annexed [of Obadiah and the Song of Solomon,] wherein the Hebrew and Greek texts are established and reconciled, and all the various readings exhibited in a collateral column at one view. By John Mauer, D.D. late of Trinity College, Cambridge." But neither the specimen nor the proposals were of power sufficient to aid the learned compiler in his arduous undertaking. There he dated at Middleton-Tyas, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, Aug. 1, 1744. After the lapse of several years, we again behold him coming forward with "A Conspectus or Collective View of the Plan and Design of a proposed Edition of the Ethiopic Version of the Holy Scriptures, with a reconciliation and settling of the Hebrew and Greek texts: *With occasional*

*Observations intermixed of a religious and commercial import; opening an inviting prospect of promoting by the same means, the mutual interests of religion and commerce, in such foreign parts as are herein humbly recommended to consideration: Adding some queries and reflections on the necessity of communion with the Catholic Church, and wherein that communion consists. By John Mawer, D.D. York, Printed by C. Ward, &c. 1759.*" In the dedication of this Conspectus to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he complains of malevolence and unfavourable accidents, not wholly then to be relieved, which had impeded the design announced in the pamphlet of 1735. "° It is now," said he," speaking of himself, "many years since he first made his design public, which was generally well entertained by the best judges:—but he was not furnished with *such requisites* to the prosecution of his work, as were mentioned in his first address,—

"° Your Grace may have been acquainted, that not long ago<sup>1</sup> I published proposals for a *Supplement to our honoured countryman Bishop*

° Conspect. ut supr. pp. 1, 2.

° Ibid. pp. 15, 16.

1 In the Discourse already noticed, published in 1735.

*Walton's Polyglot Bible*, a specimen whereof is prepared to be printed at Oxford ; the use of the University types being offered me upon that occasion ;" but, he adds, " an obstruction was here thrown in my way, by reason of the Ethiopic types being most of them lost, and incapable of printing half a page."

The next great attempt, (which also failed, or was not supported,) to amend or alter the London Polyglot, was in 1799 ; when there appeared a " Prospectus, with specimens, of an octavo Polyglot Bible, intended to contain the original texts with various readings, the principal ancient versions, and the authorized English translation. By *Josiah Pratt*, M.A. Assistant Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London." The intention of this gentleman, more particularly expressed, was " to unite the Hebrew text of the Old Testament with the common English translation, the Greek Septuagint version, the Chaldee paraphrases, and the Latin Vulgate, in five parallel columns ; and below these, across the page, to give the Samaritan Pentateuch in Hebrew characters ; and, beneath this, all the important various readings of the Hebrew text, collected by Kennicott and De' Rossi. In the New Testament, the old Syriac Version in Hebrew characters, the common English translation,



the Greek Original, and the Latin Vulgate, were to form four parallel columns ; and to be accompanied by all the chief various readings of the Greek text, collected by Mill, Bengelius, Wetstein, Birch, Matthæi, Griesbach, and others.—The chief various readings of the Codices of the Samaritan Pentateuch were to be given in the margin ; those of the LXX., selected from Dr. Holmes's collation, at the end of the Old Testament ; and those of the Syriac Version of the New Testament, at the end of that Testament. The principal variations among each other of the respective Codices of the Vulgate and Targums were to be found in the notes.”—The learned projector, however, pretends, that “ Walton was unwieldy, and too learned ; and that the formidable array of his learned page chilled and repelled the unskilful in arms.” Dr. Walton immediately found a strenuous defender of his work in Dr. Joseph White, late Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the University of Oxford ; who was led, after a minute examination of them, to express publicly little value for the alterations, and much opposition to the exclusions, which Mr. Pratt proposed in regard to the London Polyglot. Great as the diligence and

’ In the elaborate Review of this Prospectus, *British Critic*, vol. xi. pp. 103—117.

learning of Mr. Pratt may have been, he appears to have profited by the admonition, which at first he ingeniously resented, of the profound oriental critic ; and with great prudence, as well as modesty, to have withdrawn the plan, against which so many objections, and by such an objector, had been urged.

Yet another Polyglot, another gentleman has subsequently contended, is much wanted. " Shall Great Britain," Dr. Adam Clarke exclaims, " have the honour of publishing a second ? Of the *first* I feel disposed to think in the most favourable manner ; and consider it a most extraordinary proof of the piety, learning, industry, and perseverance of the editors, especially Dr. Walton ; yet I think it is far from that *perfection* of which it is susceptible. The *original texts* may be rendered much more correct by a careful collation with MSS. which are now more abundant than when the work was published : the Hebrew Bible, with the collections of Kennicott and De Rossi ; and the Greek Testament, with those of Wetstein and Griesbach. The *translations*, which are often very faulty, may be greatly improved. Several valuable *Versions* might also be added, particularly the Anglo-Saxon, Armenian, Coptic, Gothic, Italac or An-

\* Bibliograph. Dict. 1804. vol. 6. pp. 201, 202.

Chetwoldian, Sahidic, and Slavonian ; and the Targum of Rabbi Joseph, on the Chronicles might be inserted in its place. The Ethiopic and Persian Versions might be completed from MSS. which still exist in public and private libraries. In short, there are *materials* now for the perfecting this great undertaking, which Bishop Walton and his associates were not possessed of; and pecuniary resources, and public spirit also, which in those times of bigotry, poverty, and distress, had a very limited existence." With the true ardour of a sound scholar, this generous as well as acute observer calls upon an editor to this extent, *to shew himself*; predicting that he will not lack encouragement and support, and praying that the hand of God may be upon him for good; not forgetting also to state, that he has several MSS., Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Syriac, &c. of the whole or parts of the Sacred Writings, which he would rejoice to see employed in a new edition of this work.

There is now, in progress through the press, a Polyglot Edition, of which the first part was published in 1817, and the second and third parts in the two succeeding years; entitled "*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta textus archetypus, versionesque præcipuas ab Ecclesia antiquitus receptas, complectentia*." Two more parts, which complete this publication, are in great forward-

ness. From the Preface to this interesting work, I select the following particulars.

“Etsi multæ Scripturarum Sanctarum Editiones satis splendidæ jamdudum prodire, atque indies prodeunt; nullæ tamen Textus archetypos, Versionesque ab Ecclesiâ antiquitûs receptas complectentes, studiosorum usui quam maximè accommodatæ, lucem videre. Eæ namque Bibliorum Polyglottorum Editiones, quæ olim Compluti, Antverpiæ, Lutetiæ, atque Londini prodire, orbique Christiano penè miraculo fuere, jam raræ atque pretiis haud exiguis venales evasere. At quia literarum sanctarum amor, ac studium, ubique jam viget, novasque indies vires atque incrementa accipit, operæ pretium fore duximus Editionem novam, omniumque, quantum fieri potuit, votis occurrentem juris publici facere. Hoc igitur quale quale propositum, ut omnium favori ac usui se quàm maximè commendaret, Editiones, tum Textuum archetyporum, tum Versionum antiquitûs receptarum, accuratissimas, usuque diuturno nobilitatas, exhibere instituit. Verùm enimverò, ne quid huic nostro qualicunque conamini, quo Studiosorum, præsertim Academicorum, necessitatibus occurramus, deesset, Editionum emendationum Collationes ad Appendicem relegamus.

“Hæc igitur Bibliorum Editio, *Textum Hebræum, Pentateuchum Hebræo-Samaritanum, Versionem LXX. Seniorum Græcam, Vulga-*

*tam Latinorum Editionem, Novum Testamentum Græcè, celebrem illam Syrorum N. T. Versionem quam Peschito nuncupant, Versionem Anglicanam, et Tabulas quasdam S. S. Concordantiales, ex optimis quibusque auctoribus collectas, exhibebit.*

“ In Hebraicis, Editionem celeberrimam Everardi Van der Hooght, quæ A. D. 1705, lucem vidit, punctis vocalibus instructam, atque summâ fide recusam, exhibemus. Huic Pentateuchum Hebræo-Samaritanum juxta Doctiss. Kennicotti Editionem, sed ad appendicem relegatum, adjungimus.

“ Celebrem illam LXX. Seniorum Versionem, juxta exemplar Vaticanum à Cardinali Carafa in lucem emissam, Editio nostra exhibebit. Collationem vero Editionis Grabianæ, Oxonii impressæ, ad appendicem siglis notatam ablegamus.

“ Vulgatam Latinorum Editionem juxta recensionem Clementis VIII. summâ fide recusam, supra memoratis adjiciemus.

“ Novi Testamenti Græci Editionem juxta Textum, ut aiunt Receptum, in lucem emittimus. Lectionis vero varietates, textûsque emendationes, quibus Griesbachius Editionem suam, Lipsiæ, A. D. 1805, impressam, adornavit, siglis notatæ, ad appendicem relegantur.

“ Editionem igitur Millianam sequimur, emendationibus Griesbachii ad appendicem relegatis. :

“ His accedet celeberrima Syrorum Novi Testamenti Versio Simplex, sive Peschito, juxta exemplar Viennense, a Johanne Alberto Widmanstadio, A. D. 1555, typis mandatum. Hanc Editionem accuratissimam, omniumque jam calculis approbatam, literis Hebraicis, atque punctis vocalibus instructam, publici juris faciemus. Colлатio verò Editionis novæ, quam Societas ad Biblia Sacra evulganda instituta, in lucem emisit, ad appendicem relata reperietur.

“ His Versionem Anglicanam, lectionibus marginalibus, numerisque loca parallela indicantibus adornatam, nitidissimèque excusam, adjungimus.

“ Supra memoratis, Tabulas quasdam S. S. concordantiales, ex optimis quibusque auctoribus collectas, adjiciemus. Hæ Tabulæ, lectiones Versionis Anglicanæ marginales complectentes, cuilibet Bibliorum sacrorum Editioni, sive Textus archetypos sive Versiones quasvis complectenti, utendæ proponuntur.

“ Hoc opus, Tyronum usui quantum fieri posset accommodatum, Tomo uno, in quarto, ut aiunt, compactum, singulis paginis integrum Textum, *ad instar Bib. Pol. Lond.* exhibentibus, at quinque partibus dispertitum, serieque continuatâ, in lucem emittetur. Præterea, quatuor Tomis minoris formæ distributum, prodibit; ita ut Lectores, quæcumque volumina sive Textus archetypos, sive Versiones quaslibet complectentia,

**comparare, atque, prout sibi visum fuerit, adnec-  
tentes, usurpare poterunt.**

**“ Appendix verò et Prolegomena, huic Edi-  
tioni propria, ultimâ parte lucem videbunt, quò  
Lectores ampliorem supellectilem desiderantes re-  
mittimus.”**

The Prolegomena, as I am obligingly informed by the publisher of this Edition, Mr. S. Bagster, of Paternoster Row, will be given by the Rev. J. Lee, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge; and a Grammatical Apparatus will be added in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, by the Rev. F. Nolan; of which all but the two last have been already printed, and these also are nearly ready for publication. To another kind of Polyglot, published likewise by Mr. Bagster, consisting of French, Italian, Spanish, and German Versions of the Bible, the same very learned divine subjoins a Grammatical Apparatus in those languages, and has already printed what respects the two former.

No. II.

THE DEDICATION OF THE POLYGLOT TO KING CHARLES  
THE SECOND.

*“ Augustissimo potentissimoque Principi ac  
Domino, CAROLO II. Magnæ Britanniae,  
Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei Defensori,  
&c.*

*“ Quod sacrum hoc Divinorum Oraculorum  
systema, antiquissimis tam Synagogæ quàm Ec-  
clesiæ Versionibus explicatum, Majestati vestræ  
inscribere, Rex serenissime, nomenque tuum  
gloriosum eidem præfigere audeam, non mira-  
bitur qui ahimo secum perpenderit, quodd veri-  
tatis verbique sui vindices, et defensores, Deus  
Opt. Max. Reges et Principes constituerit : qui  
ut immensam Ejus majestatem media quadam in-  
ter Deum et homines adumbratione repræsentant,  
sic ad eorum curam mysteriorum suorum cus-  
todiam pertinere voluit. In quibus ut salutis  
humanæ codicilli, sic Regiæ potestatis diplomata,  
quibus Deus eos in terris vicariatu suo sublimes  
et sacrosanctos reddidit, conservantur. In his*



**Reges Dei ministros constitutos esse legimus ; eorum mandatis in omnibus post Deum obtemperandum esse, à Rege regum lege sempiterna sancitum esse ; nec ab alio quam à supremo vitæ ac necis arbitro (cui soli subsunt) gladium accepisse ; quem qui ex manibus eorum extorquere conantur, ut læsæ Majestatis Divinæ reos sacra pagina damnat.**

**“ Nec immeritò Majestati vestræ consecrandum, ex primaria Themidis lege, (qua suum cuique tribuendum,) quod non nisi auspiciis vestris susceptum, vestrique favoris radiis animatum et in lucem editum. Num antequam operi manus admovissem, cùm specimen ejus quoddam per manus fidelissimi servi vestri, D. GEORGII RATCLIFFII, τῷ μαχαρίτῃ, obtulisse, ut accurata judicii vestri lance penderetur ; non solum institutum nostrum oraculo vivæ vocis probasti, sed insuper responsum rege dignum dedesti ; scil. si facultates in tristi illo exiliî statu non defuissent, sumptus ad editionem necessarios ex ærario proprio te suppeditaturum. Quibus verbis planè aureis impulsus, necnon facultate à Reverendo in Christo patre ac D. <sup>1</sup> Gulielmo, Episcopo Londinensi, (cui ex officio librorum imprimendorum inspectio incumbit,) impetrata, concurrenti-**

<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Juxon. See also the Preface to the Polyglot.

bus suffragiis " aliorum Præsulum Reverendorum, " virorumque doctorum, quibus tanquam Ajaci clypeo munitus contra eorum tela, qui hoc falso nobis objecerunt, *nec Cæsaris nec Ecclesiæ imaginem numismati nostro insculptum esse*, tantæ molis opus aggressus sum, *Ætna quidem gravius, Herculeisque formidandum humeris*; quod tamen, divina aura adspirante, labore improbo studiisque indefessis ad exitum tandem deductum est. Quod in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ utilitatem, Matris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ nuper inter luctus et suspiria gementis honorem, nominisque Augusti vestri famam nunquam intermorituram elaboratum, sacratissimis vestris pedibus sisto, ut sub tanti Mecænatis umbone tutam requiescat, vivatque per secula, posterisque constet eo tempore orbi illuxisse, quo Carolus II. ut Regno et Ecclesiæ naufragis subveniret, in supremum navarchi solium evectus est. His accedat, *quod cum officia omnia quæ à sanctissimi Martyris τῷ ἁγίῳ, Patris vestri, servo et subdito debentur, tibi qui jure hæreditario in Regna suc-*

" Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely.

Dr. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury.

Dr. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester.

Dr. Thomas Winniffe, Bishop of Lincoln.

Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter.

" Selden, Usher, &c. See before in this volume, pp. 44, et seq.

*cedis, ut successori indubitata solvenda sint, mihi verò nec publica in Ecclesia munere inter alios per conscientiam (durante schismate ac motibus intestinis) fungi licuerit, nec Regiæ Familiæ officium præstare; æquum videbatur, hac laborum nostrorum dedicatione rationem reddere temporis ac occii quibus invitus fruebar, ne prorsus inutilis vixisse videar.*

“Opus itaque non tam meum quam tuum tibi offero; tuum, quia favore tuo susceptum, meque totum tuum, quantus quantus sum, agnosco; meum verò, quia opera mea qualicunque in ejus editione uti dignatus est operis auctor. Corollas itaque quas de floribus, in horto nostro primò nascentibus, contexui, meritò tibi, fundi domino, offero.

“Cur verò aris tuis tabulam hanc votivam citius non appenderim, (quod ab ipso suscepti operis initio decretum fuisse multi mecum testari possunt,) nimis notum est, cum, per infansta hæc tempora, omne erga Regiam Majestatem officium pro læsæ majestatis crimine haberetur; ita ut nec quæ Dei sunt Deo reddere, nec quæ Cæsaris Cæsari, cuiquam impunè licuerit: unde qui sceptrum tua profanarunt, iidem ut fatus noster sine patrone adhuc vagaretur effecerunt. In-sidiabatur enim partui nostro Draco ille magnas, et per Tyrannidis suæ mancipia hoc agebat, ut in ipso partu opprimeretur, nisi ipsi ut

*patrono et protectori dicaretur. Deus verò ab ejus furore illum servavit, et nuno gratanter verum parentem lustricum palam profiteri audet ; cujus patrocínio fretus, omnes adversantium minas contemnit.*

“ Appendant itaque alii parietibus tuis anathemata, aris tuis lucernas accendant, gemiliones offerant ; sacrosanctum hunc Divinorum Mysteriorum thesaurum, Veritatis Cœlestis scrinium, ante omnia tibi gratum et acceptum esse dubitare nefas, cum ab ipso profectum sit per quem reges regnant, et principes dominantur. In sacris enim hisce codicibus plura et firmiora habentur pro suprema regum auctoritate fundamenta, quàm in omnibus totius orbis scriptis humanis ; quos si consulissent turbones nostri, tot malorum Iliades Regnum, et Ecclesias nuper florentissimas, haud obruissent.

“ Solem in Britannia nunquam occidere scripsit quidam ex veteribus : at tenebris plusquam Cimmeriis circumfusa, ac nocte perpetua sepulta quasi jacuit insula nostra, ex quo membra capita repugnare cœperunt, nec ejus imperio subesse voluerunt ; cum plerique fuerint instar epilepticorum, vel phreneticorum, quorum motus convulsivi omnibus horrorem incusserunt ; qui sub vana libertatis umbra, et per nimiam felicitatis luxuriantis intemperantiam, omnia in antiquum Chaos ferè redegerant. Maxime verò

post occasum sideris illius nuper fulgentis, qui radiis suis orbem Britannicum illuminavit, beatissimi jam cœlorum indigitis, Caroli primi, principis æternitatem diu promeriti; ejus nomen immortalitati consecratum, post evanidas morientis seditionis nebulas, amorem ac admirationem sui apud omnes relinquet. At lætius jam spirare videntur et respirare regna tua, jactura tam gravi adventu tuo resarcita, et ex phœniceis Caroli I. cineribus Carolo II. resuscitato, qui non tantum nomen et regna sustentat, sed et virtutes regias exhibet, tot provinciarum et populorum habenas in periculosissimis tempestatibus et fluctibus moderando; unde felicitatem suam tam presens ætas, quam sequentium annorum series, agnoscent. Te enim quasi altero sole exoriente, post atram et luctuosam noctem, dies nobis felix faustusque illuxit, pace, religione avita, cum legibus et libertatibus subditorum, virtute tua resuscitatis. Ventis enim et tempestatibus, quæ omnium submersionem minabantur, sedatis; mare pacatum et tranquillum, cœlumque nostrum, quod lugubri quasi veste indutum apparuit, serenum et sudum reddidisti. Fideles subditi, quasi à morte resuscitati, reviviscere sibi videntur, et magnitudine insperatæ redemptionis spectata, dicunt cum Judæis à Captivitate Babylonica redeuntibus, *Eramus sicut somniantes*. Amorem itaque et obedientiam cum primùm nacti sunt oc-

casionem ostenderunt, dum faustis acclamationibus te patrem patriæ prosequuntur, et ut alterum Mosem liberatorem celebrant. Cùm enim in marasium incidisset corpus tam civile quam ecclesiasticum, et extremum spiritum trahere videretur, ecce tu, alter Æsculapius de cœlo delapsus, vitam miraculosè restituisti, et spem fecisti de valetudine pristina brevi receperanda. Cùmque ad summum adversariorum potentia (qui dixerant, *Nolumus hunc regnare*) perducta esset, cùm da eventu securi spolia inter se partiti essent, omnia in vado esse existimantes; Deus (jam completa ipsorum iniquitate) eorum linguas confadit qui Babellem ædificabant, Spiritum malum inter Abimelechum et Sychemitas immisit, arma eorum in seipsos convertit, consilia inania momento dissipavit. Ad partum enim devenierant, et parere non poterant; ad portum, et in ipso portu naufragium passi sunt: exercitus eorum sine subditorum sanguine Dominus miraculosè dissipavit, prudentia ac fortitudine summi copiarum ducis et archistrategi, D. GEORGII MONKH, viri in æternum celebrandi; et, per incruentam victoriam, te in solia regio collocavit. Sic, ut olim cecinit vates regius, *Lapis quem reprobaverunt ædificatores, factus est caput anguli: à Domino factum est illud, et mirabile est in oculis nostris.*

“ Qui verò novatorum artibus fascinati in

eorum castra transierunt, tandem consiliorum suorum perituri, et in propriis viis lassati, (de-tracta libertatis et religionis, quarum specie de-cepti erant, larva,) ad sanam mentem redire incipiunt: cum proprio damno didicerint, subditorum contra principem victorias totidem esse trophæa in propriam perniciem erecta. Impossibile enim esset religionem, leges, et libertates stabilire, dum gladium ex regis manu extorquent, sine quo hæc sarta tecta eis servari nequeunt; quod dum jugum principis lene excutiant, pro uno quingentos sibi dominos vel tyrannos creant, qui dura servitute eos opprimunt. Jam cernunt quod qui spreto legibus divinis et humanis, et exuta principis reverentia, jura regia invaserunt, non possunt gradum sistere; sed à malis ad pejora progressi scelera sceleribus tuentur, donec (conscientiis cauteriatis) ad summum perducta ipsorum impietate, infandum illud facinus regicidii perpetrare non vereantur hypocritæ sanguinarii. Nunc percipere possunt, Deum successus prosperos eis permisisse, ut propria edocti experientia intelligerent, qualis reformatio ex subditorum armis contra principem speranda; cum pro religione, omnium hæresium et blasphemiarum illuviem, impietatem, et atheismum; pro libertate, plusquam Ægyptiacam servitutem; introducta cernerent; quæ, si Deus eorum impetus primò compescuisset,

nunquam eventura credidissent. Denique compertum jam habent quodnam sit verum servitium; quænam vera libertas : nam, ut olim poeta,

*Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub principe credit:  
Servitium : nunquam libertas gratior extat,  
Quàm sub rege pio.*

“ Quod itaque post tot cladum vicissitudines, post dubios præliorum eventus, regnis tuis diuturno bello lassatis, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, in justam regnorum possessionem devenisti, lætantur fideles subditi : quibus exploratum est, *Principem* (ut ille) *esse vinculum per quod Resp. cohæret ; spiritum vitalem, quem tot millia trahunt ; nec aliud esse Remp. nisi prædam et onus, sublata illa imperii mente.* Maxime verò gestit Ecclesia cùm Jovem tutelarem adventasse videat, quem Deus nutricium ejus constituit. Omnibus enim jam palam est auctoritatem Regiam ab illa Ecclesiæ disjungi non posse, cùm utraque ab iisdem hostibus convellatur, prout à sapientissimo post Salomonem principe, auctor tuo, dudum perspectum est. Qui enim excussam volunt crucem, Ecclesiæ symbolum, è corona Regia, ut solum lilium, sæculi emblemata, maneret ; etiam et hoc tandem tollere, ipsumque diadema, à Regis capite ademptum, in terram dejicere laborarunt : quique in Ecclesiæ patrimonium ore



sacrilego din inhiant, etiam sacrum Coronæ patrimonium deglatire non horrent. Nec tūc iis fidere princeps potest, qui Ecclesiæ hierarchiam perturbant; cū iidem qui Democratiam Ecclesiasticam moliantur, etiam paritatem in Regnum inducere conentur; ut ipsi, tanquam tribuni plebis, in regno suo dominantur: dum per fictas et in vulgus sparsas suspiciones, et consensibus tribunitiis, omnia susque deque vertunt; et, pro tuba pacis Evangelica, Martia classica pulsant.

“Etsi verò variis calamitatibus probari te passa sit Providentia Divina, antequam solium ascenderes; hoc tamen in maximum tuum nostrumque commodum sapienter Dominus disposuit: ut scilicet de adversa fortuna magnificentius triumphares, et casu fortior assurgeres; et ne nimia felicitate virtus tua marcesceret; sed, sicut aurum probatum, ex igne purior exires. Balsamum enim incisum liquorem fundit fragrantiorē; et arca, aquis supernatans, per fluctus et procēllas altius et cœlum propius attollitur. Deus te, ut olim Davidem, quem persecuti sunt inimici sicut perdicem in montibus, ad regni gubernacula hoc modo aptavit et perpolivit. Voluit etiam, ut cum virtutum omnium moralium, politicarum, theologicarum, choro ornatus sis, in mundi theatro positus, eorum specimina illustriora coram omnibus ederes. Quid dicam prudentiam exquisitis-

simam, multo rerum usu comparatam, et adversæ fortuna auctam; justitiam intemeratam, ab æqui rectique tramite nunquam deflectentem; benignitatem incredibilem, qua omnium animos conciliat; clementiam summam, cum vulnera Reip. sanatiæ admirandam, in profundo sævientis fortunæ voragine, animo excelso et verè regio omnia constantur perferendo, quam promere tot mala potuere at non opprimere; temperantiam animique in quocunque statu moderationem, omnibus suspiciendam, paucis imitandam; pietatem denique et constantiam in vera religione, nullis miserabilem undis, cum tot difficultatibus implicatus, tot tentamenti utrinque oppugnatus, ut rupes ingens in mediis fluctibus, fixus et immobilis perstiteris? Has reliquasque virtutes, quibus coram omnibus circumfulges, res adversæ in lucem produxerunt, quæ sub continua felicitate fortè latuissent: illudque S. August. in te impletum probant, *quòd nulla infelicitas frangit quem nulla felicitas corrumpit*. Licet enim res secundæ te in posterum felicem (speramus) reddent, adversæ tamen quas animo heroico pertulisti magnum probant.

“Cum itaque in hoc humanæ conditionis fastigio constitutus sis, ut omnium animos oculosque virtutum tuarum splendore perstringas, eas hac dedicatione tacitè venerari volui quas pro merito celebrare non liceat. Nec enim, ut de Trajano

olim panegyrites Plinius, quærendus erat patronus qui eligeretur, sed eligendus qui tot virtutibus eminebat.

“ Quod reliquum est, Deum Opt. Max. exoramus, ut qui te tot signis in subditorum felicitatem ante designavit ex tot periculis eripuit, à tot perditorum machinationibus miraculosè servavit, et incolumem nobis reddidit, omnia tibi fausta, felicia, et supra invidiam gloriosa, concedat; vitam per multos annos proroget; et tandem immarcescibilem gloriæ coronam conferat. Sic ex animo precatur

“ Majestatis vestræ subditus humillimus,

“ Omni obsequio devotissimus,

“ \* BRIANUS WALTON.”

\* Some slight errors of the press, in the original impression of this dedication, have been corrected in the present publication of it.

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WITH NOTICES OF HIS COADJUTORS IN THAT ILLUSTRIOUS WORK;  
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**THE  
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**A BRIEF VIEW OF CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE  
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Authority of the Original Texts, is defended against the Consequences  
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**BY**

**BRIAN WALTON, D.D.**

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**" For we can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth." 2 Cor. xiii. 8.**

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A

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OF THE

**SEVERAL CHAPTERS.**

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THE  
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I. *It was the speech of a grave historian, (Thucyd.) that οἱ ἐν μέσῳ ἀποκρίνονται καὶ ἀποκρίνονται, those that are in the midst are slain (or assaulted) on both*

sides. With which agrees too that of Aristotle, *Ethic.* lib. 2. c. 8. Ἀπωθῆναι τὸν μέσον ἐν ἄκροις ἑκάτερος πρὸς ἑκάτερον. *Expellunt medium extremi uterque ad alterum.* This was the case of our Mother the Church of England in former times, as was long since observed by a reverend [A] author, when she was (like Christ crucified between two thieves) opposed by the superstitious Romanists on the one hand, and by the fiery Novellists on the other; the first accusing her of departing too far from them, the other of coming too near to them. Which contrary accusations of men, running into extremes, were a strong evidence that she walked in the mean; which is the best and safest; for, *Medium tenere beati.* This, which was the condition of the mother, is now become the lot of some of her sons in *the late edition of the Biblia Polyglotta*: for whereas the publisher of the said Bible hath laboured to assert the purity, integrity, and supreme authority of the Original Texts against those of Rome on the one side, rejecting some Jewish opinions unwarily swallowed by some amongst ourselves on the other, he hath incurred the displeasure of both; the one complaining that too much is ascribed to the Original Texts; the other, too little. Which is a good argument that he hath kept close to the truth, from which those, that do *extrema sectari*, do usually swerve.

II. This is no new thing, that endeavours to promote the public good should be thus rewarded; for in former ages we find, that those who laboured most about the sacred oracles of God, to restore them to their primitive and original lustre, and to wipe off that dust which by injuries of time and ignorance or negligence of transcribers was contracted, and so to transmit them pure and incorrupt to posterity; (for such God raised up in all ages;) whose endeavours, one would think, might have set the authors without the reach of calumny and envy, have yet been aspersed and slandered, their labours calumniated, and their aims perverted, by such as St. James speaks of, iv. 5. "In whom the spirit that lusts after envy reigned." Origen's pains in compiling his *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, and *Octapla*, a work of that admirable use, that it was styled *Opus Ecclesiae*, and which by the unexcusable negligence of the Greek church is now lost, was carped and cavilled at amongst others by Jerom, as if he had corrupted the pure translation of the LXX. by the additions which he made out of Theodotion; when as Origen, to preserve the LXX in its integrity, distinguished all the additions by an asterisk, which being left out, what remained was the mere and true translation of the Septuagint, as Jerom himself sometimes acknowledged, *Epist. 11. ad Au-*

gustin. The same Jerom was paid in the like coin by others, who rejected his Latin Translation, (the first in Latin that was made out of the Hebrew text,) as appears by Ruffine, St. Augustine, and other learned men of those times ; who interpreted this attempt of his (though in itself very laudable) as done, *in contumeliam Versionis τῆς ἱ,* to disgrace that of the Septuagint ; (as some now interpret all that is said of the use of ancient Translations, as tending to the depressing of the Hebrew ;) whereupon he was often put to apologize for himself.

III. To come nearer to our own times : That [B] magnificent work of the King of Spain's Bible (by some styled *Orbis Miraculum*) was approved by the Pope himself, to whom it was presented, as by his Breves prefixed appears. Yet all could not protect the publisher thereof, Arias Montanus, (a learned and moderate Romanist, though he did nothing without the advice of the University of Louvain, and of sundry particular learned men,) from the jealousies and calumnies of malignant spirits of his own brethren, against whom he was fain to write Apologies, and hardly escaped the Inquisition. Erasmus's extraordinary pains, in publishing the Greek Testament by comparing ancient Copies and Translations, was sufficiently railed at by some friars and ignorant zealots, as if he took upon him *to correct the Word of God* ; as appears

in his Preface to his Annotations of 1535, whose very words are used, as we shall see hereafter, against the *Biblia Polyglotta*. And that late [C]splendid work of the Parisian Bible, published at the charges of Michael Le Jay in seven languages, which far exceeds the *Biblia Regia*, by addition of that ancient Syriac Translation of the Old Testament; the Arabic of the Old and New, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, &c. though it be not without its defects, which ingenuous and moderate men would rather have excused than aggravated, yet hath not wanted its detractors; who, envying that others should have the glory of that which themselves were unable to perform, have defamed it what they could. Witness those bitter and virulent expressions of Simeon de Muis, Regius Professor of the Hebrew at Paris, in his Epistles published against it. And to come yet nearer home: The last [D] English Translation made by diverse learned men at the command of King James, though it may justly contend with any now extant in any other language in Europe, was yet carped and cavilled at by diverse among ourselves, especially by [E] one, who being passed by and not employed in the work, as one (though skilled in the Hebrew, yet) of little or no judgment in that or any other kind of learning, was so highly offended, that he would needs undertake to shew how many thousand places they had

fabely rendered, when as he could hardly make good his undertaking in any one.

IV. Thus we see, that "for every good work is a man envied of his neighbour," as the Wise Man observed, Eccles. iv. 4. Our Saviour, for the good works he had done, had like to have been stoned by the people; and the Scribes and Elders, out of envy, delivered him to be put to death. "Licet invenire regionem ubi venena non sunt, quemadmodum affirmant de Creta; at non licet invenire Rempubicam quæ non alat invidiam," as Plut. in Moral. *Some countries there be, where no venomous creature lives, as they say of Candy; but none where the poison of envy is not found.* Yea, so monstrous is this sin, that the envious man makes another's virtue his vice, and another's happiness his torment: "Invidia Siculi non invenerunt tyranni majus tormentum." Whereas he, that rejoiceth at the good of another, is thereby made partaker of it: For "Tolle invidiam, et tuum est quod habeo: Tolle invidiam, et meum est quod habes;" as Chrysost. in Joh.

V. It cannot seem strange then, that *this late work of the Bible*, though generally approved by learned men, both in the first undertaking, when the particulars, whereof it was to consist, with a specimen thereof, were published to the world; and since it was finished, when not only all was

performed which was undertaken, but also more than could justly be expected; should, notwithstanding, meet with some disaffected persons, who seek to defame and blast it. There have ever been some, that would make themselves seem fairer by throwing dirt in the faces of others, and account themselves the better by how much they speak the worse of others: for "*Gloriæ comes invidia;*" and it never was the hap of any book, yet, to meet with no opposition; *ἡ μὲν δὲ ἀντιλογία* as Clemens Alex. observed long since. "*Deus omnibus placere non potest; et tu placere credis?*" said Jul. Scal. *God himself cannot please all men; and how can any of us then hope for it?* Erasmus's complaint was just against his censurers: "*Superbum est de libro sententiam ferre quem non intelligis, superbius et de eo quem ne legeris quidem.*" Præf. eadem. Yet we find usually, that this envious humour is attended with ignorance: "*Vituperant quæ ignorant,*" said Tertul. *Ignorance is the greatest enemy to any kind of knowledge;* and Jos. Scaliger met with such, of whom he writes, "*Quicquid eorum captum superat erratum vocant, et quod non intelligunt pro ineitia sua damnant:*" how this may be applied, I leave to the judgment of others. This I find too true, that though there never was so much done in any Edition of the Bible in any age (*absit invidia verbo,*) as to exhibit the Original

Text of the Scripture at one view, attended with so many ancient Translations, approved by the Church in her purest times, and that according to the best Copies and Editions, which bear witness to the authority and integrity of the Originals, and serve as so many glasses to represent the true sense and meaning of them to succeeding ages, and to preserve the sacred truth to posterity, as far as human industry can reach, against the corruptions and false glosses, wherewith Sectaries and Heretics, (who in no age so abounded as in this,) would adulterate and embase it; yet this could not free the work from the opposition of malicious tongues and pens of such, whom the envious man hath stirred up to hinder the benefit which the Church of God might reap by it. Witness a [F] *late Pamphlet*, pretending to the integrity and purity of the Hebrew and Greek Text, to which are added *Certain Considerations on the Prolegomena and Appendix to the late Biblia Polyglotta*.

VI. In which, I was sorry to find so much clean paper fouled with so many palpable untruths, wilful and studied calumnies, such contradictions, tautologies, and impertinencies, as appear in those *Considerations*; that, if they should be culled out of the book, we might say of it, as Apollodorus the Athenian of Chrysippus's writings, that if one should take away τὰ ἀλλότρια, *all that was either*

none of his own, or nothing to the purpose, *οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ὁ χάρις, they would be empty of all matter.* For there is scarce any thing true or useful concerning the subjects here disputed, which was not formerly said in those *Prolegomena*; nor any thing concerning the same which is added by the adversary as his own, which is not sufficiently confuted in the same *Prolegomena*. Not to mention the incoherence of the things here handled, the whole being, “*rudis indigestaque moles,*” a confused heap of *Independencies*.

VII. In these *Considerations* we are told of a new “plot or design amongst Protestants, after they are come out of Rome, a design which they dare not publicly own,” p. 329. “The leprosy of Papists, crying down the Original Texts, is broken forth among Protestants, with what design, to what end or purpose, he knows not; God knows, and the day will manifest.” Epist. p. 14. “That this design is owned in the *Prolegomena* to the Bible, and in the *Appendix*; that they print the Original and defame it, gathering up Translations of all sorts, and setting them up in competition with it.” Epist. p. 9. “That they take away all certainty in and about all sacred truth.” Epist. p. 25. “That there is nothing left unto men, but to choose whether they will turn Papists or Atheists.” Epist. p. 9. “That there

are gross corruptions befallen the Originals, which by the help of old Translations, and by conjectures, may be found out and corrected," p. 205. "As pernicious a principle as ever was fixed upon since the foundation of the Church of Christ," Epist. p. 21. "That it is the foundation of Mahometanism, the chiefest and principal prop of Popery, the only pretence of fanatical Antiscripturists, and the root of so much hidden atheism in the world," p. 147. "That he fears the pretended infallible judge, or the depth of atheism, lies at the the door of these considerations," p. 161. "That they are enough to frighten unstable souls into the arms of an infallible guide," p. 196. "That these various Translations, as upon trial they will be found to be, are such, as many will be ready to question the foundation of all," p. 207. "And therefore he had rather all Translations should be consumed out of the earth," p. 318. "than such a figment should be admitted; that (*setting aside two Theses*) there is no opinion ventilated among Christians tending to the depression of the worth, and impairing the esteem, of the Hebrew Copies, which is not directly, or by just consequence, owned in these *Prolegomena*," p. 205. Hence are these tragical exclamations of "dreadful distemper, which may well prove mortal to the truth of the Scripture," p. 314. "of horrible and outrageous violence offered to

the sacred verity," p. 315. "that men take upon them to correct the Scripture," p. 344. "to correct the Word of God," p. 180. These are some of the expressions used by the author of the *Considerations*, who yet writes "with all Christian candour and moderation of spirit," p. 151. "candidly for the sake and pursuit of truth, with a mind freed from all prejudice and disquieting affections," p. 155. Now, those dangerous principles, about which all this stir is made, are chiefly reduced to two ; (though many be pretended ;)

- I. That the Hebrew points (that is, the modern forms now used, not the vowels and accents themselves, which are acknowledged to be coeve with the other letters, and that the reading of the text was never arbitrary, but the same before and after the punctuation,) were devised and fixed by the Masorites about five hundred years after Christ :
2. That there are Various Readings in the Old and New Testament, both in the Hebrew and Greek, (by the casual mistake of transcribers, yet in matters of no moment,) which, by comparing ancient Copies, may be found out, and in some cases out of ancient Translations ; and when they are discovered, the true reading may be restored. Hence is inferred, "the uncertainty of all Divine truth, that the Scriptures are corrupt, &c." And hence are those fears and jealousies, Epist. p. 19. which how justly deducible from these, or any

other principles in the *Prolegomena* or *Appendix*, shall hereafter appear. In the mean time, our author practises what Quintilian said of some Roman orators, who did *causarum vacua convitiis implere*; and, instead of arguments, loads his adversary with reproaches, like that soldier in Darius's army, (mentioned by Plutarch,) who, instead of fighting with his hands, employed his tongue in railing upon Alexander; whereupon the general struck him with his lance, and told him, he hired him to fight, and not to rail. Who those Protestants are that concur with the *Prolegomena* in those Principles, the adversary is ashamed to mention; though he knew they were at large cited in the *Prolegomena*; because their very names would have spoiled his whole project, and made his charge appear a mere calumny. They are no other (concerning the novelty of the Hebrew punctuation) than Luther, Zuinglius, Brennius, Pellican, Ecolampadius, Calvin, Beza, Musculus, Paulus Fagius, Mercer, Cameron, Chamier, Piscator, Scaliger, Casaubon, De Dieu, Grotius, Cappellus, Erpenius, Sixtinus Amama, Salmasius, Schickard, Martinus; also Rivet, Spanhemius, Fest. Hommius, as appears by their Epistles to Cappellus in his *Defensio Criticæ*, &c.; and amongst ourselves Archbishop Usher, Bishop [G] Prideaux, Mr. Selden, Mr. Mede, Mr. Eyres, and many others; not to name those now living,

the most eminent Divines that have appeared in the Protestant cause, and most zealous defenders of the purity and authority of the Original Texts, or the chiefest Linguists that this age hath produced, and best skilled in the Hebrew and other Oriental learning. And for that other point of Various Lections, not only the same men, but all others generally which will believe their eyes, (two or three excepted,) grant the same which the author of the *Prolegomena* doth, and that without any prejudice to the certainty or divine authority of Scripture, as is shewed at large in the *Prolegomena*; and shall hereafter be made manifest. Yea, our adversary himself frequently confesses the same; and saith, that "ocular inspection makes it manifest, that there are Various Readings both in the Old Testament and the New; and it is confessed there have been failings in the transcribers, who have often mistaken; and that it is impossible it should be otherwise, &c." pp. 165, 191, 178, 296; whereby he makes himself evidently guilty of the crimes which he unjustly charges upon others, and of those consequences which he infers on the behalf of Papists, Atheists, Antiscripturists, &c. and so overthrows that which he would seem to contend for, viz. the certainty and supreme authority of Scripture; and therefore I may say unto him, "*ex ore tuo,*" *out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged,* and use the

words of the Apostle, Rom. ii. 1. "Wherefore thou art unexcusable, O man, that condemnest another, for hereby thou condemnest thine own self; for thou doest the same things."

VIII. When I first read this Pamphlet I stood amazed at the strange boldness of the author, charging the *Prolegomena* with such tenets and assertions, which they are so far from maintaining, that they do assert and prove the plain contrary, and that not *obiter*, or by the by, but *ex professo*, in full tracts. As for instance the main charge, p. 206. "that there are corruptions, yea gross corruptions befallen the Original Texts, which men by their critical conjectures may discover and correct," is so far from truth, that the whole *Prolegom.* 7. is spent in proving that the *Original Texts* are not corrupted either by Jews, Christians, or others; that they are of supreme authority in all matters, and the rule to try all Translations by; that the copies we now have are the true transcripts of the first *αὐτὴν γὰρ* written by the sacred Penmen; that the special Providence of God hath watched over these books, to preserve them pure and uncorrupt against all attempts of Sectaries, Heretics, and others, and will still preserve them to the end of the world for that end for which they were at first written; that the errors or mistakes, which may befall by negligence or inadvertency of

transcribers or printers, are in matters of no concernment, (from whence Various Readings have arisen,) and may by collation of other copies and other means there mentioned be rectified and amended. The arguments also brought by some Romanists against the purity, certainty, and authority, of the Original Texts, are clearly answered; wherein I doubt not but the reader may find more satisfaction, than in all these confused *Considerations*. And for gathering *Various Readings* by mere conjectures, the author of the *Prolegomena* is so far from approving that way, that he expressly rejects it, and gives reasons against it. *Prol. 6. sect. ult.* which the author of the *Considerations*, p. 209, 305, 307, doth also acknowledge with thankfulness.

IX. The like may be seen in most of his other charges, wherein he fights with his own shadow, and like a wanton whelp runs round after his own stern, dissembling his adversary's opinion, and instead thereof substituting any lame consecratory which came suddenly into his distempered fancy. For whatsoever might seem odious to vulgar apprehensions, he ascribes to the *Prolegomena*; that so he might have colour to say what he lists. Other things are by him wilfully perverted and misconstrued, the controversy never truly stated, not one argument faithfully recited, much less answered, nor the tenth part of what is said in

the *Prolegomena* on the matters in question taken notice of, much less confuted ; so that I was a long time in doubt whether to take notice of these *Considerations* at all by way of answer, there being nothing in them which is not in the *Prolegomena* and *Appendix* already fully answered, as those that shall please to compare both together may easily see. And this was the opinion of some men of great learning and judgment, that I should not trouble myself with any answer. Besides I have to deal with one so possessed with prejudice and passion, and thereby so pertinacious in his opinions, that I shall but *Æthiopem lavare* : he may be convinced, but not converted, and will hold his conclusion in despite of the premisses. Neither is his authority of such weight with judicious and learned men, as that they will esteem the *Biblia Polyglotta* either the better for his praises, or the worse for his censure. So that as his praises should not tickle, so neither his dispraises trouble. “*Declamationes ambitiosorum*” are only “*otiosorum cibi*,” as Scal. Exerc. 307. Nor is it my lot alone to be thus handled by him. He lays about him on all sides ; and like Ismael, his hand is against every one ; so that we may say with the epigrammatist, “*Omnibus invidas, livide ; nemo tibi.*” Yea, the volume itself begins already to serve for waste paper in grocers’ shops, and to vanish *in thuris piperisve cucullos*.

X. Yet considering that it may have come into the hands of diverse, who never saw, and it may be, cannot read or understand, the *Biblia Polyglotta*, or the *Prolegomena*, and may simply give credit to what he avers ; (for though he say the opinions may be candidly disputed among learned men without danger, yet he hath thought fit to submit and expose them to the judgment of the unlearned, who cannot judge, but may wrest, what they understand not, to their own hurt ; wherein either his prudence or piety may justly be called in question, in bringing a Latin tract upon an English stage ;) and withal lest he might complain that he was neglected, or brag amongst his ignorant proselytes that he could not be answered ; and further seeing that there is as S. Ambr. de Offic. i. c. 3. saith, *otiosum silentium*, as well as *otiosum verbum*, and I would be loth to be guilty of the one, as my adversary is of the other ; and withal because he threatens in many places, p. 152, 153, 193, 201, 305, 320, 345, “a further search, and to make more discoveries of great matters : I thought it not altogether unfit, (though I want not other employments wherein to spend my hours,) *both in right to myself, and this Work of the Bible, and to all those reverend and worthy persons, whose approbations have commended it to the public, as also of all those great and learned Divines and others, some of*

which I have now mentioned, who are involved in the same cause, to take a brief view of these Considerations ; and to examine the grounds of those consequences which he would infer, and to shew how unjustly and uncharitably he hath dealt ; that so the Prolegomena, Appendix, and several Translations, may be vindicated from his false aspersions ; the true use of the Work maintained for the public good of the Church ; the truth asserted against his sophisms and declamations ; the reader disabused ; their judgments rectified, who may be misled by a popular Pamphlet fitted for vulgar capacities not for scholastical judgments ; and all further error and misconstruction prevented in what shall be hereafter offered by him or others upon this account, so that he or whoever shall proceed in this virulent way of censuring may be without excuse. For as Ivo, Ep. 219. " Quia falsitas præcessit, oportet ut veritas subsequatur, quæ latrocinia noctis detegat." Not that I intend to follow him in all his confused mazes, extravagancies, and tautologies ; but only to insist upon the chief and most material points, which being rightly stated, and the truth proved or vindicated, I shall submit all to the judicious and indifferent reader.

CHAPTER II.

- I.** *The Occasion and Motives of publishing the Considerations.* **II.** *The Adversary begins with an untruth.* **III.** *His sinister Ends, writing in English against a Latin Treatise, and yet in the same book writing in Latin against the Quakers.* **IV.** *His love of the truth, candid and sincere dealing.* **V.** *His dangerous Assertions against the Miracles wrought for Confirmation of the Doctrine of the Bible, attested by the Catholic Tradition of the Church of Christ. His affirming that the Alcoran may vie Miracles and Traditions with the Scripture, rejecting all Arguments for the Authority of Scripture, save its own Light.* **VI.** **VII.** *No private or new Opinions in the Prolegomena or Appendix.* **VIII.** *The just grounds which the Publisher had to speak of the Things excepted against.* **IX.** *The groundless fears and jealousies of the Adversary.* **X.** *His Profession of no great Skill in this Learning.* **XI.** *That he knows not the Authors of this Edition.* **XII.** *His commending the Work, and the Authors of it.* **XIII.** *His Consequences charged upon the Work, and not upon the Workmen, as he pretends.* **XIV.** *The true Cause of the Quarrel is against the Workmen.* **XV.** *The Approbation of the Work by foreign Divines; Buxtorf's Testimony of it.*

I. BEFORE we descend to particulars, it will be needful to take notice, first, of the occasion and motives of publishing these *Considerations*, and of their scope and end; concerning which the author tells us, cap. i. sect. 1, 2, 3, &c. "that he

had written a Treatise of the Divine Original of the Scriptures, their authority, and self-evidencing light ; and of the Providence of God in their preservation ; which being ready for the press, the *Prolegomena and Appendix of the Bible* came to his hands, wherein the great bulk of Various Readings, and some opinions maintained in the *Prolegomena*, did in his apprehension much weaken the arguments by him insisted upon in that Treatise ; and therefore a necessity was incumbent upon him, either to desist from publishing it, or else of giving an account of those things in the *Prolegomena and Appendix*, which tended to the disadvantage of that great truth which he had pleaded for." After, he tells us of " his fears and jealousies of dangerous consequences, &c." and gives some reasons to free himself from " any suspicion of malice or envy against the *Biblia Polyglotta*, or any that had a hand in publishing of it ; and calls the searcher of all hearts to witness, how clear he was from any sinister ends, &c." and professes how " candidly he will proceed for the sake and in the pursuit of truth, with a mind free from prejudice and disquieting affections, &c."

II. Concerning all which, I shall observe, first, that it is ominous to *stumble at the threshold*, as our author here doth. What fair dealing may we expect in his ensuing Discourse, when he begins

with a palpable untruth? He saith, the *Prolegomena and Appendix* came to his hands after he had finished his Treatise of the Scripture, and was ready to give it to the Stationer ; which was the occasion of these additional *Considerations* ; when as yet it appears that he had read the *Prolegomena and Appendix*, before he had written the first Chapter of his Treatise ; for in that Chapter he writes, p. 16. that “ Cappellus’s pernicious opinion about the uncertainty of Scripture is since approved, and taken up by others,” quoting in the margin *Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta* ; and p. 20. he saith, that “ *ισχυρίσιν* is reckoned amongst the Various Readings, gathered out of Grotius, in the *Appendix of the Biblia Polyglotta* ;” by which it is evident that he had seen and read the *Prolegomena and Appendix* before he wrote that Treatise, and therefore that the publishing of the *Prolegomena and Appendix* after his Treatise was finished, could not be the cause of writing these *Considerations* in vindication of that Treatise. Here it seems his memory failed him, to say no worse ; and hereby it plainly appears, that some other motives set him on work, and not the vindication of his Treatise ; and though he protests the contrary, yet *protestatio contraria facto* is not to be admitted nor regarded ; for it is known that such protestations with men, who make no scruple of affirming untruths, arise

often from the consciousness of the guilt of that against which they protest. *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* What are his *Considerations* but a clear confutation of his protestation?

III. If he had no sinister ends, why are they written in English; the opinions which he opposes, being written in that language wherein learned men debate such things as are not fit for popular judgments? There could be no other end in this, than to expose the *Biblia Polyglotta* and Publishers of it to popular hatred. If his fears and jealousies were so great, that these opinions should gain credit, and be received, why did he not write against them in the same language which is generally known in Europe, whereby an antidote might have been ready wheresoever they came? Whereas to write in English, cannot hinder the spreading of them abroad; nor was there any great cause to fear that his English readers could be infected by them, when they understood them not, till he informed them. This was not the true motive, or else he took not the right course to prevent the mischief he seemed to fear. But to confute a Latin Treatise in English, and in the same book to add a Latin discourse against the Quakers, who abhor all learning, and account that language the *language of the beast*, will, notwithstanding his weak apology, be judged a solecism.

IV. Besides, if the truth, and love of the truth, set him on work, why doth he fasten upon his adversary things manifestly untrue, charging him with opinions in one place, which in another he clears him from? his perverting his adversary's tenets, propounding his arguments and answers by halves, cutting them short, as Procrustes (in Plut.) did his prisoners, that they might be fit for his bed, are proofs of his *candid and sincere dealing*, but chiefly his urging the consequences of Papists, Atheists, Antiscripturists, &c. whose advocate he makes himself, rather than his adversary shall escape. If he had not been led by some sinister respects, knowing that pious and learned men, yea, the learnedest Protestant Divines, and the best skilled in the Eastern languages, that are this day, and greatest assertors of the purity and authority of the Original Texts against the Romish tenets, have maintained the same, with the author of the *Prolegomena* about the Hebrew punctuation, and the Various Readings, and that himself acknowledges the main thing from which perverse and wicked men draw their conclusions, (*viz. the variety of readings in the Hebrew and Greek Copies,*) he would have laboured to free those worthies from such imputations, and have shewed, that no such consequences could be logically and rationally deduced from such premises; as indeed they cannot: Whereas we see in him the clear

contrary ; for he takes part with Papists, Atheists, Antiscripturists, &c. and pleads their cause, and labours to prove, even from such premises as himself cannot deny, that those wretched consequences do necessarily follow : Which shews plainly, how he was blinded with prejudice and passion, and how far he was from that candour and freedom from disquieting affections, and from the love of truth which he pretends to.

V. And though it had been the hard hap of the *Prolegomena and Appendix* to come out when his Treatise was ready to be printed, which hath procured all this trouble to himself and the readers ; yet, was there such a necessity of the publishing his Treatise ? Divers persons of great learning and judgment think his pains might very well have been spared ; and that, instead of proving the Divine Authority of the Scripture, he hath much weakened it ; and, what in him lies, shaken the very foundation of Religion ; while he rejects that main argument to prove the Scriptures to be from God, p. 103, 104, viz. the miracles wrought by Moses and Christ, the Prophets and Apostles, to confirm their doctrine, brought down to us by the undoubted testimony and universal tradition of the Church of Christ, the most infallible and greatest of all human testimonies, and next to that which is immediately Divine ; and sticks not to affirm, that the “ Alcoran may vie miracles and

traditions with the Scripture," p. 105. "and that there is no more reason to believe those who have received that tradition, and plead they have it, before and against them who profess they have no such report delivered them from their forefathers," p. 108. "nor have we more inducement to give credit to their assertions, than to a like number of men holding out a tradition utterly to the contrary;" that is, why we should believe the testimony of the whole Christian Church in this point, before the testimony of Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, to the contrary, p. 110. And whilst he grounds all upon the inward light of the Scripture itself, which though it serve to confirm the faith of believers, yet in the question, how we come to know the Scriptures to be from God, we know, is by great and learned Protestant Divines not allowed as a convincing argument in this case; I submit it to the judgment of all men of common reason and judgment, whether here be not a fair pretence for Atheists and fanatical Antiscripturists to reject the Scripture, when they find the argument from the miracles and universal tradition rejected by some, and that of the inward light of the Scripture, (which is here said to be "all the Divine evidence that God is willing to grant us, or can be granted us, or is any way needful for us, p. 34. and that there is no need of any further witness or testimony," p. 56.) not admitted as suf-

ficient by others; and whether they may not with more colour deduce their conclusions against the Scriptures from these assertions of his, than from any thing in the *Prolegomena* or *Appendix*? For, where they find him affirming, "that there is no way to know the Scriptures to be from God, but its own light," and find this denied by learned Divines of all sides, they have some colour to conclude, that there is no way at all to prove their Divine Original, and so to reject them.

VI. Again, he writes, p. 159, and 160, that "in all these things (it is known to all men) there is no new opinion coined or maintained by the Prefacer to these Bibles, but that all have been maintained by sundry learned men," and that, "if they had been kept in men's private writings, he should not have thought himself, or his discourse, concerned in them;" but because "they are laid as the foundation of the usefulness of the *Biblia Polyglotta*, and because of the authority which they may gain thereby," and because (as p. 159) "these private opinions," (as he calls them) "are imposed with too much advantage on the minds of men by their constant neighbourhood unto canonical truth, therefore he must needs appear against them." Here he speaks plainly what was the true cause of these *Considerations*. The *Biblia Polyglotta* are the butt against which his arrows are aimed; and these opinions about the

Hebrew punctuation and Various Readings had not been considered, nor meddled with, but for that work to which they were adjoined; which because it was always maligned by himself and some others of his party, therefore he took occasion to quarrel with these matters, that so he might bring the more obloquy upon the whole, and make it the more suspected among the vulgar.

VII. But whereas he makes them private opinions, which now, being joined with a public work, may pretend to public authority, he is much deceived; or else seeks to deceive his credulous reader: for how can they be private or new opinions which have been publicly asserted in print, before either of us were born; and have been, and are, still maintained by the chiefest and learnedest Divines in Europe, and the best skilled in Oriental Learning that have been, or are at this day, in the Christian world? Such as we have already mentioned, chap. i. sect. 7. Can these opinions be counted private, which have been, and are, publicly asserted by men of such eminent worth? Or can their being mentioned before the *Biblia Polyglotta* procure them more credit and esteem, than the venerable names of such great and learned men, with whom the Publisher of this Bible, and those that assisted him, do not think themselves fit to be named? And if they

might by these and others be defended in print, and disputed among learned men, why might they not be mentioned here? and why might not the Publisher deliver his opinion in these things, as well as others, especially writing with that moderation he uses, not magisterially imposing a belief upon any, but leaving every one to his own liberty, only shewing his reasons, why he judges one opinion more probable than another?

VIII. He conceives he had a fit occasion to speak of these things in the *Prolegomena* to this Work. For, seeing the Hebrew Text is the foundation of the whole fabric for the Old Testament, what was more proper than to speak of the Hebrew Tongue; the antiquity, use, excellency, and preservation of it; how the Text came to be pointed; what the Keri and Ketib are, which appear in most Hebrew Bibles; and because there are Various Readings both of the Old and New Testament, noted in most Editions, therefore to speak of Various Readings, whence they came, out of what Copies, and how to be gathered; and to add to what others have done, out of some ancient and choice MSS. or printed Copies; and to shew that the certainty and authority of Scripture, with the integrity of the Original Texts, is [H] not impeached or prejudiced thereby, which he asserts upon such foundations as will hold, and not upon sandy grounds, as his

adversary doth, which will not stand, not *argumentis non cogentibus*, by which the truth is more prejudiced than by confessing the invalidity of them. For when men see the weakness of them, they think we have no better to rely upon, and so begin to question and doubt the truth of all.

IX. As for his fears and jealousies, I say, that when they are groundless, they are not to be regarded; and that they are so, shall hereafter appear. We have had sad experience of the fruits of causeless fears and jealousies, which the more unjust they are, the more violent usually they are, and less capable of satisfaction. It hath been, and is, usual with some, who that they may create fears in the credulous ignorant multitude, and raise clamours against others, pretend great fears of that which they themselves no more fear than the falling of the skies; and to cry out, *Templum Domini*, when they scarce believe *Dominum Templi*; nor did the care of the Temple ever enter into their hearts; only by this artifice they drive on their own designs, and expose their adversaries to popular hatred. Those, that read the *Prolegomena* (as he saith he hath done) without prejudice, may find satisfaction enough to prevent all fears and jealousies. As for those, that with the spider suck poison out of the sweetest flowers from which the bee gets honey, I shall

not trouble myself to give them any more satisfaction ; they shall bear their own guilt. I know the difference between *Scandalum datum, et acceptum*; and shall say of such, as Christ did of the Pharisees that were offended at his doctrine, " Let them alone, they are blind leaders of the blind." Truth must not be concealed, though weak men be offended at it, or wicked men wrest it to their own hurt.

X. But he saith further, p. 150, " What is there that could possibly infect him with this leaven, viz. of envy or malice?" for, first, he " neither professes any deep skill in the learning used in this work, nor is ever like to be engaged in any thing that should be set up in competition with it:" nor, secondly, " doth he know the authors and contrivers of the work ; nor did he ever know that there was such a person as the chief author of this Edition but by it:" nor, thirdly, " shall he fail, upon all occasions, to commend the usefulness of the work, with the learning, pains, and diligence, of those worthy persons that brought it forth." To all which I answer, first, for his skill in this kind of learning, I shall say nothing ; but leave others to judge, to whom he is better known than to myself. He is one whom I never saw, nor, till of late years, ever heard of ; and, till now, he was *mihi nec beneficio nec maleficio notus*. But the less his skill is in this kind of

learning, I think the less will his censure be regarded among wise men, and I shall have the less cause to fear it. The Apostle taxes some who would be "teachers of the law, not knowing what they said, or whereof they affirmed:" I will not apply this to our author; but himself tells us, p. 324, "that it is the way of sciolists, when they have obtained a little skill in any language or science, to persuade the world, that all worth lies therein." Whether this may agree to himself or no, I will not determine, but leave every man to judge as he sees cause; but sure I am, and experience makes it good, that those who have attained a little smattering knowledge in any science, especially in the Hebrew, are usually more puffed up with that little umbratile knowledge, though weak men otherwise, and of little judgment in any real or rational learning, than those who have attained a far greater measure; and that they are more apt to censure and condemn others. I have known some citizens, yea women in London, who, having learned to read Hebrew, were so conceited of themselves, that they have despised the ablest divines about the city, and have almost doubted of the salvation of all persons that could not read Hebrew; and I remember that Schickard, a very learned Hebrician, tells us, that it is the guise of many, as soon as they understand three words of Hebrew, presently they are so con-

ceited of their own abilities, that they betake themselves to the writing of grammars ; and condemn himself for his folly in that kind when he was but a novice, attempting that of which he was afterward ashamed. He was then also as earnest a patron of the antiquity of Hebrew points, as our author can be ; yet afterwards, when he came to riper judgment, "he could not believe that any learned man could in good earnest maintain that opinion, but that some did it merely to shew their wit." This is therefore no argument of our adversary's freedom from sinister ends and motives, that his skill is not great in the languages, but rather proves the contrary ; especially when he knows that men of the greatest eminency in this learning that the world ever had, or hath at present, have said the same with the author of the *Prolegomena* ; and that *the chiefest of our own nation in that learning have had some hand in, or have at least approved, this Edition*, and those things which he so much dislikes. It might have been fit for him, and no way unbecoming his greatness, to have forborne awhile, and waited to see what those who are known to be of great judgment in these matters, of which this nation hath more than ever heretofore, would have said, and what their judgment had been, than for him, (who I think will not think himself fit to be paralleled with many,) presently to engage with such

violence and to condemn opinions, which, as appears by his discourse, he either did not thoroughly weigh, or doth not fully understand. But he, that looks through a green glass, judges every thing green which he sees, when only that is green through which he looks.

XI. As for his "not knowing the authors and contrivers of the work," though they were not known to him, yet they were known to be *Sons of the Church of England*, and such as have not apostatized from their former profession, either by heresy or schism.

XII. For his commending the work, and the authors of it, which he promises upon all occasions; his whole discourse shews what his commendations are, when he charges the work with "setting up Atheism, Popery, fanatical Antiscripturism, Mahometanism," p. 147. "with bringing in utter uncertainty in and about all sacred truth," Epist. p. 25. so that nothing remains, but that we must *either turn Papists or Atheists!* When he inveighs against all the ancient Translations, "as set up in competition with the Text," Epist. p. 9. "to correct the Word of God," p. 180. "to correct the Scripture," p. 344. that they "will be found upon trial to be such as many will be ready to question the foundation of all;" p. 206. when he tells us "of such dreadful distempers as will prove mortal to the sacred truth of the Scriptures,"

p. 314. " of horrible and outrageous violence offered to the sacred Hebrew verity," p. 315. and "rather" wishes that "this and all other works of this nature were out of the world, than one of these should be admitted;" p. 321. is this to commend the worth and usefulness of it, and the pains of the contrivers? What more bitter reviling speeches could be uttered against the most profane atheistical pamphlets which this age hath produced? Against [I] Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and the like? What is this but to cast dirt in one's face, and yet to persuade him that he did it not to disgrace him? Bern. in *Cant.* 2. speaks of the slanderer, that, when he intends the most disgrace against any, begins first to commend him; which kind of slander is, saith he, "*tanto plausibilior quanto creditur ab his qui audiunt, corde invito, et condolentis affectu proferri,*" *when it serves but as a foil to what follows, and as a shoeing-horn to draw on some disgraceful aspersion the better, and make the crime be thought the greater.* Saint Cyprian, *Epist.* 2. compares such to wrestlers, "*qui antagonistas luctantes altius tollunt, quò vehementius illidunt,*" *who lift their antagonist the higher, that they may give him the greater fall.* And therefore S. Jerom ad *Pammach. et Ocean.* saith, that such commendation is "*honorifica contumelia,*" *an honourable reproach.* It is "*callidum nocendi artificium,*" as another calls

it, a crafty kind of artifice to do mischief. In the mean time it is some comfort when “*ne inimici quidem vituperare possunt, nisi simul laudent,*” as Plin. lib. iii. Ep. 12. *when our very enemies must make our praises a preface to their slanders.* If these be his commendations, let him keep them to himself.

XIII. But he saith, p. 161, that “these consequences are not charged upon the workmen, but upon the work.” But I say, if upon the work then upon the workmen. The work and the workmen are so nearly related, that what is said against the one must of necessity reflect upon the other. If one should publish in print, that himself in his Treatise, by rejecting what is by all “Christians acknowledged for a main ground of their believing the Scriptures to be from God, viz. miracles, and the uninterrupted tradition of the Church, by equalling the tradition of the Mahometans for their Alcoran with the tradition of the Church for the Scriptures, and laying all upon the light and power of the word itself, doth thereby make way for atheists, and fanatic persons; &c.” and should think to salve all with this distinction, that he charges not the author, but the book, with these inferences; would not he think himself concerned in the charge, and the distinction to be a mere mockery?

XIV. The truth therefore is, whatsoever is by

him pretended, and so it is generally known and believed by all that know either him or those that had a hand in publishing this work, that his quarrel is chiefly with the *persons*, and with the *work for their sakes*; and that he therefore seeks to depress the worth of the book, because such men have had the honour to bring it forth. Whereas had himself and those of his judgment been the publishers, it would have been free from all these imputations, and cried up as the greatest monument of religion and learning, which any age hath produced. Nor is it unlike, but that there was some mixture of ambition with envy, which pricked him forward. He thought to raise his own credit upon the ruin of this work, and thereby to gain some reputation amongst his disciples; that so, from the lustre of this work, he might be better known and admired. Nothing is more evident than that he hath studiously laboured to scrape together whatsoever might, with any colour, be objected against it; and, when he wanted real grounds for his calumnies, to feign whatsoever he thought might render either it, or the publisher, obnoxious to popular hatred; so that whatever motives he had, it could not be the *love of the truth* that stirred him up.

XV. Whatsoever his ends or aims were, the work hath had approbation from all ranks of men both at home and abroad, who are best able to

judge of it ; so that it need not fear his censures, but will remain impregnable against the assaults and batteries of all malignant spirits. If this tree had not borne good fruit, there had been no stones thrown at it. For as Plut. “ ubi nullum lumen, ibi nulla umbra ; ubi nulla felicitas, ibi nulla invidia.” I could produce the judgment of the best learned in Europe, expressed by several letters out of France, Germany, the Low Countries, Flanders, Italy, and other places, concerning this work ; that one styles it *opus plusquam regium*, another *opus divinum*, another *opus heroicum*, &c. But I will content myself at this time with the testimony of D. Buxtorf, now Hebrew Professor at Basil, a man inferior to none for his great skill in Hebrew learning, and one with whom for divers years I have had intercourse by letters, and fair correspondence, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about the Hebrew punctuation, &c. one whose testimony our adversary cannot suspect. Thus he writes in one of his Letters : “ Ad opus vestrum Biblicum quod attinet, quotquot vident mirantur ; nihil in hoc genere simile Ars Typographica hactenus excudit.—Nitida sunt omnia, et, quantum deprehendere possum, correcta. Ita raptus sum sanctissimi pariter et elegantissimi operis aspectu, ut si quid ad illud exornandum consilii et auxilii conferre possum, id non solum promptè sim factururus, sed honori quoque mihi

ducturus." In another, of March 28, 1658, et. n. "Quanta cum voluptate ego sanctissimos et incredibiles vestros labores inspexerim, quanto cum gaudio eos exceperim, illi testabuntur, quibus ego opus vestrum ostendi et commendavi, &c." This, and more to his purpose, writes this great Hebrician, whose judgment is enough in the opinion of all knowing men to preponderate all the light and frivolous cavils of many *Considerators*.

CHAPTER III.

- I. *The particulars of the Charge many; the principal are about Various Readings, and the Hebrew Points.*
II. *The general Charge of depressing the esteem of the Hebrew Copies proved false.* III. *Ten particular Charges in the Considerations, proved to be false; the words of the Prolegomena set opposite to them. The Prolegomena affirm the direct contrary to what is charged. The Adversary's candour and love of the truth, &c.*

I. WE come now to the particular charges and criminations of the *Considerator*. We find them several times mustered up: first, in the Epistle, p. 9. then, in the Considerations, p. 157, 158. and again, p. 205, 206. In all which places, though many particulars are enumerated to make the greater shew, yet in his discourse he chiefly insists upon two things, viz. the [K] *Various Readings of the Original Texts*, and the [L] *Novelty of the Hebrew Punctuation*; and in the same Epist. p. 26, he reduces all to those two heads; from which he deduces the *uncertainty of the Scriptures*, the corruption of the Originals, and those other consequences which he would fasten upon the *Biblia Polyglotta*. For our more orderly proceeding, we shall first lay down the several particulars charged upon the *Prolegomena*, as they are exhibited in the *Considerations*; and then what it is

which is asserted or maintained in the *Prolegomena* ; and, after, we shall proceed to the examination of the particulars.

II. But before we enter upon the several heads, we must consider one *general charge* mentioned, p. 205. and which includes most of the rest, viz. “ that excepting that figment of the Jews corrupting the Bible, out of hatred to the Christians, and the thesis preferring this or that Translation in general above the Original, there is no opinion, that he knows of, that was ever ventilated among Christians, tending to the depression of the worth, or impairing the esteem, of the Hebrew Copies, which is not directly, or by just consequence, owned in these *Prolegomena*.” This will appear to be most untrue in the severals, by him mentioned, when we shall come to them ; where we shall make it appear, that the Hebrew Copies are not at all impeached by any thing maintained in the *Prolegomena*, unless he mean that some cabalistical mysteries, (or rather fopperies,) from whence strange observations are drawn, to the depraving and perverting of the Scripture, and exposing the Hebrew Text to scorn and contempt, are not owned. Such rabbinical fancies taken up by some Christians, it is true, are rejected and condemned ; for the publisher doth not believe, that the esteem and worth of the Hebrew Text is advanced by any untruth, or by the vain

and groundless conceits of such idle pretenders, but rather impaired and lessened. But as for the *due honour and integrity of the Original Texts*, and preserving the *true esteem* of them to posterity he doubts not, but that it will be acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons, that he hath done more than hath been hitherto done by any.

III. After this *general calumny*, our Author instances in divers particulars to make good his general charge, which are reckoned up in divers places: In the Epist. p. 9. and 25. afterwards in the *Considerations*, p. 151. 158, &c. and again, p. 205, 206. and in divers other places. These we shall collect, as they are scattered and dispersed in these *Considerations*. And that the truth or falsehood of them may the better appear, we shall withal set down the several tenets, as they are asserted in the *Prolegomena*, parallel with them.

Considerations.

1. That the Original Copies of the Scripture are corrupt, yea, have gross corruptions in them, so that they are no ground for faith to rest upon, p. 147, 158, 159, 206, 314, 345, and Epist. p. 9, 10, 21.

Prolegomena.

1. That the Original Texts are not corrupted either by Jews or others, either before Christ, or since, but are pure, entire, authentic, and of supreme authority in all matters of faith, and the rule whereby to try all Translations, *Proleg.* vii. sect. 1. proved at large.

Considerations.

2. That there were other Copies of the Original Hebrew and Greek, differing from those we now enjoy, which are quite lost, p. 206, 311, 312. Epist. p. 10.

3. That the same fate hath attended the Scripture in its transcription, as hath done other books, God's providence watching no more over this than other books, p. 173, 206.

Prolegomena.

2. That the Copies we now have, are the true transcripts of the *αὐτόγραφα* of the Prophets and Apostles, and the very same, proved, *Prolegom.* vii. sect. 16.

3. That the Scripture hath been subject to casual mistakes of transcribers and printers in small matters, of no moment, which by comparing of other Copies, and by other means, may be rectified and amended; and that in this it hath had the same fate with other books often transcribed; yet the special care and providence of God hath so watched over it, that in all things which concern faith and good life, and in all matters of weight and moment, no error hath befallen it; and that his special providence will preserve it entire against all endeavour of heretics or others to the end of the world, *Prolegom.* vi. sect. 1, 3.

Considerations.

4. That it is lawful to collect Various Readings, and to correct the Text, upon mere conjectures, p. 151, 206.

5. That the Keri and Ketib are Various Readings, and gathered by some Judaical rabbins out of ancient Copies, partly their critical amendments, or conjectures, p. 157, 206.

6. That the end of printing ancient Translations in this Bible, is by them, to correct the Original Text, though there be no diversity in the Copies, p. 156, 206, 311, 314. Epist. p. 21, 25. to set them in competition with the Text, p. 174, 311, 315. Epist. p. 9. to correct the Word of God. p. 180. to correct the Scripture, p. 344.

Prolegomena.

Prolegom. vii. sect. 12, 15.

Præf. p. 1.

4. That to collect Various Readings by mere conjectures, (when there is no difference in the Copies or Translations,) is not safe: It would open a window for busy wits to deprave the Scripture, and to turn it into any sense, &c. *Proleg.* vi. sect. 12.

5. That the Keri and Ketib, are not critical amendments, or conjectures of the rabbins, but Various Readings, gathered out of ancient Copies, *Proleg.* viii. sect. 25.

6. The end of these ancient Translations is, first, they served as pipes to convey those living waters from the fountains to particular nations; secondly, to confirm our faith by their consent and harmony among themselves, and with the Original Texts in all matters of moment; thirdly, to bear witness to the purity and integrity of

Considerations.

7. That the Hebrew points or vowels and accents, are a novel invention of some Judaical rabbins, about five or six hundred years after the giving out of the Gospel, p. 157. Epist. p. 9.

Prolegomena.

the Original Texts, by their consent and agreement therewith and to prevent all future corruption by sectaries, heretics, or negligence of scribes; fourthly, to explain the true sense and meaning of the Text, as it was understood in the first and purest times, &c. *Proleg. v. sect. 1, 2, 3.*

7. That the Hebrew tongue consists of vowels and consonants, and always had vowels, as all other languages have, viz. א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת to which some add ך and ם all which anciently by Josephus, St. Jerom, Origen, &c. were called vowels, as in other Eastern Tongues; the Syr. Chald. Arab. &c. By their twenty-two letters, of which these are part, the Hebrews might and did express all their words, as well as all other nations, who had their letters and alphabets, with the names and order of them, from the Hebrew long before the invention

Considerations.

8. That the vowels and accents are the arbitrary invention of the Masorites, who fixed them to the text as they pleased, p. 208. c. 4, in the Contents, and p. 217, 218.

9. That it is lawful for us to change the vowels and accents at our pleasure, p. 250. and 217, 218, 258.

Prolegomena.

of points. They had also the accents, though not expressed by any points, as other Languages, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, English, &c. which have accents observed in punctuation, though not fixed by notes to every syllable, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 49, 47, 53.

8. That the Masorites, when they invented the modern points, (that is, the forms or figures now used,) did not invent any new sounds or pronunciation, nor pointed the Text at their pleasure, but according to the received reading then in use, to facilitate the reading, and take away all ambiguity. This is proved, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 51. according to that reading which was derived to them from the sacred penmen, sect. 53.

9. Though the punctuation be the invention of the Masorites, *et humani juris, quoad apices et figuras*, yet that which is sig-

Considerations.

10. That the whole credit of our reading and interpretation of Scripture, as far as regulated by the present punctuation, depends only on the faithfulness and skill of those Jews, whose invention this work is asserted to be, p. 157.

Prolegomena.

nified by the points, viz. the sound and sense of the words, is altogether of Divine authority, and acknowledges God only for its Author, and ought not to be altered at any man's pleasure, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 51.

10. That our reading depends not upon the Masorites, nor is it therefore true, because it is from them, but because they express in their punctuation the true sense of the Holy Ghost, which was dictated to the holy penmen, and by them committed to writing, and preserved both by Jews and Christians, *ibid.* *Proleg.* iii. sect. 51.

By these particulars we see the candour of the adversary, and how much the love of the truth, (as he saith, p. 155.) prevailed with him, when, in relating the opinions in the *Prolegomena*, almost every thing is *perverted or falsified*; the *Prolegomena* asserting the clean contrary in most things to what he would impose upon them;

which is an evident sign of a bad cause. For as the poet said, Eurip. *Phoenias*.

Ἀληθὺς ὁ νόσος τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστίν.
 ----- ὁ δὲ ἀλὴ
 Νόσος ἐν ἀλῆ, φαρμακίαν δεῖ αἰετῶν.

*The truth is sound, her words are plain,
 Falsehood is sick, she needs must feign.*

Besides these, there are divers other things objected against the Various Readings exhibited in the Appendix, against collecting Various Readings out of Translations (though no such be gathered in the Appendix,) about the old Hebrew Character, the knowledge of the Hebrew drawn from the Translation of the Seventy, against the several Translations printed in this edition of the Bible, his consequences on the behalf of Atheists, Papists, &c. in some of which there is something of truth mixed with many untruths and calumnies, as shall appear when we come to handle each by itself.

CHAPTER IV.

- I. *The first and main Charge, that the Original Text hath gross corruptio*
- II. *Not any words brought out of the Prolegomena . . . prove this, but consequences of his own. The Prolegomena maintain expressly, that the Originals are not corrupt, either by Jews or others, either before or since Christ; that casual mistakes may happen by negligence in matters of no moment, yet there are means to rectify and amend them when discovered.*
- III. *The Prolegomena falsified. Various Readings acknowledged by all. Proved out of Bishop Usher, Buxtorf, &c. Granted by the Adversary often, yet sometimes denied in the Hebrew.*
- VI. *Wherein the Author of the Considerations and the Author of the Prolegomena differ. The Adversary calls all Various Readings corruptions, and so makes the Originals to be corrupt. Various Readings not properly corruptions, proved out of Buxtorf.*
- VII, VIII. *His arguments against Various Readings.*
- IX. *Answered. They prove only no wilful corruptions.*
- X. *The Talmud sometimes reads otherwise than in our Copies, proved by Buxtorf. Of our Saviour's silence about these things.*
- XI. *The care of the Church in preserving the Copies of the Bible.*
- XII. XIII. *Whether there be no means of rectifying any error crept in, but only by revelation. That all Copies in public use agree in all saving truth revealed, and in all matters historical, prophetical, &c. of any weight; that other smaller differences may be rectified.*
- XIV. *All revealed truth comes under our care.*
- XV. *No one Copy can pretend to be a standard for all others. No vulgar Copy was in possession over all the world before printing or since.*
- XVI. *The uncertainty of the Adversary's*

rule, viz. That every tittle of revealed truth is in one Copy or other. Impossible to examine all the Copies in the world.

I. WE shall begin first with the main charge, viz. That the "Original Texts are corrupted, yea have gross corruptions befallen them." This he propounds sometimes "doubtfully," p. 147. He saith, "the Various Readings at the first view seem to intimate that corruptions have befallen the Originals," and p. 159. "This voluminous bulk of Various Lections, as nakedly exhibited, seems sufficient to beget scruples and doubts about the preservation of the Scripture by the care and providence of God." Now if they do only *intimate*, and *seem to intimate corruptions*, and only *seem sufficient* to beget *scruples*, then they do not *certainly* infer any such charge; and if they *seem* so only at the *first view*, then, upon a *further view*, it may be that they will not *seem to intimate corruptions*. But though he speak thus modestly sometimes, yet in other places he charges home, p. 158. "It is declared (in the *Prolegomena*) that when gross faults or corruptions are befallen the Originals, men may by their faculty of critical conjectures amend them, and restore the native lections that were lost," p. 206. "that where gross faults are crept into the Hebrew Text, men may by their own conjectures find out Various Readings, &c." Epist. p. 21. "Their principle

is, that there are sundry corruptions crept into the Originals, &c. and this receives countenance from these *Prolegomena*." So p. 311, 325, and in many other places he disputes against this position, as asserted in the *Biblia Polyglotta*, "that the Original Texts are corrupted."

II. But how is this charge proved? Here we may observe, that neither in this nor any other of his other charges doth he relate any of the words of the *Prolegomena*; which if he had done, the falsehood had been discovered. But supposing that the ordinary reader would not trouble himself to look into the *Prolegomena*, but take all upon his word, he substitutes in the place of his adversary's opinion, some of his own consecrations, which to him seemed to follow upon it; which he falls upon with great violence. Which kind of dealing is very unjust, to charge an adversary with consequences, as his proper tenets, when he denies such consequences; especially, when as he directly and not by consequence affirms, and maintains, the contrary to what is charged. Yet this is our case here. What the author of the *Prolegomena* delivered concerning the [M]purity and authority of the Original Texts, is to be seen Proleg. vii. *de Textuum Originalium integritate et auctoritate*, and Proleg. vi. *de Variis Lectionibus*; whither I must refer the reader for full satisfaction. The sum is this, as hath been touched

in part already. 1. *That the Hebrew Text is not corrupted by the Jews either before or after Christ.* This is proved by sundry reasons, and amongst others by these. *That it were against the Providence of God to permit the Scriptures to be corrupted; and against the fidelity of the Church, to whose care the sacred Oracles are committed. That the Jews neither did, nor could falsify the Hebrew Text, but that the fraud would have been presently discovered. That it is incredible: (as Saint Augustine saith, De Civit. l. 18. c. 18. "ipsos voluisse codicibus suis eripere veritatem, ut nobis eriperent auctoritatem, vel in totum orbem dispersos potuisse in hoc conspirare nullo contradicente.")* This is at large proved, Proleg. vii. p. 52. and the arguments to the contrary answered. 2. *That neither the Hebrew nor Greek Texts of the Old or New Testament are corrupted by heretics or others, but that they remain pure and entire; and that they always were, and still are, the authentic rule in all matters of faith and religion, and that by them all Translations are to be tried and examined; to which end many arguments are produced; among others, that God at the first delivered to the Church, not Translations, but Original Texts, and those pure and free from all corruption; and therefore those that say they are corrupt must prove them so to be, and shew when and*

how they came to be corrupted, and how they came to lose that authority which they once had; otherwise they are to be presumed to be pure and authentic, as being in possession of their authority. Nor can any general corruption be proved from a few particular instances, but only the casual errors of the transcribers, which may well consist with the purity of the fountains. Proleg. 7. sect. 15, 16. 18. 22, 23, &c. 3. That though by the negligence or inadvertency of transcribers some casual mistakes or involuntary errors may creep into the Text, from whence various Readings have risen both in the Old and New Testament; yet the Original Text remains pure and authentic, because those varieties are not in matters of any moment, whereby any point of faith or salvation is prejudiced in the least; nor are there means wanting whereby such errors may be amended, and the true reading established. That it was not possible that any error should have risen in matters of weight, but it would presently have been discovered, there being so many thousands of Copies dispersed all the world over, which were daily read, expounded, and considered of, and every word weighed and examined, either in public or private, by learned men and others in all ages, who esteemed these Books as the records of their salvation, and the grand charter of their inheritance in heaven;

and for other mistakes, there are means to rectify them when they are discovered, as the analogy of faith, the writings and comments of the Ancients, collation of ancient Copies, consulting ancient Translations, especially the Scripture itself, the comparing of parallel places, considering antecedents and consequents, &c. That these Various Readings seldom change the sense, or if they do, yet both are agreeable to the analogy of faith; and if, notwithstanding these means, both readings seem equally balanced, there can be no danger, to follow which we will. These things are handled, Proleg. vi. sect. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, &c. and Proleg. vii. sect. 15, 16, &c.

III. By this it appears what the author of the *Prolegomena* holds about the *purity and authority of the Original Texts*. Now seeing he is charged to deliver the contrary, it may well be expected, that evident proof be brought to shew that he contradicts himself. And what proof is here brought? No words, as I told you before, are alleged, only p. 158. he quotes in the marg. *Proleg. vii. sect. 12. and Proleg. vi. sect. 12.* In both which places there is not one word of *corruptions in the Original Text*, much less of *gross corruptions*, or of *correcting them by men's own conjectures*, unless "*errata et mendæ leviores*" signify *gross corruptions*, and "*quæ aliorum codicum et interpretum collatione, aliisque mediis*

(de quibus supra) tolli et emendari possunt," do signify *correcting by men's own conjectures*. It is said indeed, *Proleg. vi. sect. 12.* that Various Readings may in some cases be gathered out of ancient Translations; but that this doth not infer the corruption of the present Copies, shall be shewed when we come to that particular. In the mean time, the reader may please to take notice that in the other place (nor indeed any where else) there is not one word of corruptions, nor more said than what all men that will believe their eyes have said before, *That there have been casual mistakes by transcribers in matters of no concernment, or that there are Various Readings in the Hebrew and Greek Texts.* This is proved by the general consent of all, and by sundry instances; and is by our author frequently confessed, as we shall see anon.

IV. For my part I do not know any at this day that is of another opinion. The greatest patrons of the purity of the Hebrew Text grant it without any scruple. The reverend and learned Usher, *Epist. ad Cappel, p. 21, [N]* writes thus, "*Sententia mea hæc perpetua fuit, Heb. Vet. Test. Codicem scribarum erroribus non minus obnoxium esse quàm Novi Codicem, et omnes alios libros, &c.*" Buxtorf, *de Punct. Antiq. part. 1. c. 16.* and frequently in his *Vindiciæ Textus Hebr.* affirms the same. "Non dicam quod Sanctes

Pagninus olim in Præf. Gram. suæ scripsit et dixit, Hebraica volumina nec in una dictione corrupta reperiens, neque enim existimo talia esse, ut in nullo particulari punctulo, apiculo, aut litera, à primis Mosis et Prophetarum autographis apographa unquam decesserint, aut nullum omninò vitium vel levissimum in ea irrepserit. Nam ne ipsi quidem Judæi hoc asserunt, qui et antiquitùs jam exemplaria corrupta, sed ab Esdra iterum correctà, et restituta fuisse, et posterioribus temporibus cum inter celebres auctores tum inter exemplaria varia dissensiones et discrepantes quasdam lectiones notant. Tales sunt, præter notas *וְיִכְרִי וְיִכְרִי*, dissensiones de quarundam vocum lectione inter Judæos Orientales et Occidentales, et inter Ben Ascher et Ben Naphtali: sic memorant aliquando nec dissimulant varietates nonnullas ex libris quibusdam MSS. celeberrimis et magnæ auctoritatis, ut e. g. librorum Hierosolymitanorum, Babylonicorum, Hispaniensium, Exemplaris Hilleliani, Pentateuchi cujusdam Hierichuntini, Sinaitici, &c. Mentionem etiam faciunt punctatorum, cum in genere, tum nominatim quorundam in specie, R. Moses Londinates, Rabbi Gerson Parisiensis, &c. et dicunt quòd unus seu liber seu punctator vocem hanc sic, alius alitèr, punctet. Monuerunt etiam librorum correctorum, et per consequens minus correctorum. Redarguunt etiam sæpè exemplaria quædam disertè

erroris ; sed an propter istas varietates in dubium vocant auctoritatem totius codicis Hebraici, et omnium apographorum ? aut an propterea aliqua cum specie, aut aliquo cum fundamento id fieri potuit ? Nequaquam."

V. Here, we see, these two learned patrons of the purity of the Hebrew Text affirm as much as is said in the *Prolegomena*. With them concur all others that handle this argument. For though there have been two or three, as Polanus and Pagnine, and some others that have thought the Jewish scribes so privileged, as never to have erred in the least ; yet this fancy is generally now exploded by all. Nor shall I need to bring any more witnesses, when the author of these *Considerations* frequently confesses the same. For though sometimes when he was in haste, as p. 180, or in passion, he denies any Various Readings in the Hebrew Text, but grants them in the New Testament, as Epist. p. 27. " Why, I pray, is this so ridiculous ? to grant that there are corruptions and Various Readings in the Greek and Latin Copies of the Scripture, but deny it as to the Hebrew ? it is founded on no less stable bottom than this experience, that whereas we evidently find Various Lections in the Greek Copies which we enjoy, and so grant that which ocular inspection evinces to be true ; yet they are none of them able to shew out of any Copies yet extant in the

world, or that they can make appear ever to have been extant, that ever there were any such Various Lections in the Originals of the Old Testament."—Yet in other places (contradicting himself, which is not unusual,) he frequently grants Various Readings both in the Old and New, p. 13. "It is no doubt, but that in the Copies we now enjoy of the Old Testament there are Diverse Readings. The Keri and Ketib, the Various Lections of Ben Ascher and Ben Naphtali, of the Eastern and Western Jews, which we have collected at the end of the Bible, evince it." p. 178. "Notwithstanding we grant that there are, and have been, Various Lections in the Old Testament and the New, the Keri and Ketib, the Various Readings of Ben Ascher, and Ben Naphtali, the Oriental and Occidental Jews: and if any other can be gathered, or shall hereafter out of any ancient Copies of credit and esteem, where no mistake can be discovered as their cause, they deserve to be considered." p. 190. "That there are in some Copies of the New Testament, and those some of them of good antiquity, Diverse Readings in things or words of less importance is acknowledged." Again, p. 296. "It is known it is granted, that failings have been among them, (the transcribers,) and that Various Readings are from thence risen." And p. 191, "That so many transcriptions should be made without some va-

riation is *ἐκ τῶν ἀδωάτων*, &c." Not to add more, Epist. p. 13. "God, by his providence preserving the whole entire, suffered this less variety to fall out in, or among, the Copies we have, for the quickening and exercising of our diligence in our search of his Word;" which is the same which was said before, Proleg. vii. sect. 14. *Potuit quidem Deus omnes librorum sacrorum scriptores vel typographos ἀμαρτίαις reddere, si ipsi ita visum fuisset, sicut Apostolos et Prophetas Spiritu suo gubernavit, ut in eorum autographis nullum esset erratum. At sicut Ecclesiæ doctores omnes erroribus obnoxios esse voluit, licet primos Ecclesiæ procures ab omni errore immunes reddidit, ut scilicet omnes excitaret ad diligentem usum mediorum, quibus Veritas Divina conservari posset; sic dicendum de exemplaribus, apographis, mendis, et erroribus levioribus, quæ fidei et moribus non officerent, obnoxia esse voluit, ut diligentiam nostram in codicum sacrorum puritate conservanda exerceret; nam vigilantibus et non dormientibus Deus succurrit, et opera ac ministerio hominum uti decrevit ad oraculorum suorum conservationem, &c.*

VI. Thus we see how our Author affirms the same thing himself, which he finds fault with in another; neither do I know wherein there is any real difference, or more said in this matter by the *Prolegomena* than is granted in the *Considera-*

tions, excepting only in that of collecting Various Readings out of some Translations; from which we shall shew in its proper place, that no corruption of the Original Texts can be inferred. And herein our author differs not only from the author of the *Proleg.* but from all or most divines and expositors whatsoever. Those *Various Readings, which the Proleg. affirm may be sometimes gathered out of Translations*, are of the same nature with these which the *Considerator grants may be gathered out of Original Copies*, viz. of no weight, containing nothing repugnant to the analogy of faith; and further are not asserted to be of equal authority or certainty with those that are gathered out of the Hebrew and Greek Texts: and therefore the present reading of the Original Copies ought not, barely upon the different reading of a Translation, to be judged corrupt; as we shall shew when we come to that charge. But if our author will needs have all Various Readings, though the difference be never so small, to be corruptions of the Text, he may call them so, if he pleaseth; I cannot hinder him. Yet he might learn of Buxtorf, whose authority he hath no reason to question, to distinguish between Various Readings and Corruptions, properly so called, *Vindic. Textus Hebr. Part. 1. c. 4. p. 112.* “*Porro omnino, ut supra monui, differentiam faciendam censeo inter Corruptionem et Variam Lectionem.*”

Corruption is properly a wilful falsifying upon design ; as where heretics wilfully falsified some places of Scripture, which made against their error, such were quickly discovered. And that no such are in our Copies, is acknowledged. But a Various Reading is an involuntary error from mistake, or inadvertency, which is always in matters of little moment, and therefore not so easily at first discerned ; and having passed through many Copies not observed, nor being contrary to the circumstances of the Text, or repugnant to any other place of Scripture, so that it cannot be clearly proved which may be the mistake of the scribe, it comes to be in the number of Various Readings. For the differences of any Copy, when they can be clearly proved to have been at first errors of the scribe, are not properly Various Readings ; as is confessed in the *Prolegomena* vi. sect. 6. But if our Adversary will needs call Various Readings corruptions, he shall give me leave to call such corruptions Various Readings ; and the rather, because I do no where in the *Prolegomena* grant Corruptions, but acknowledge only Various Readings. And he must know withal, that hereby he makes himself guilty of that crime which he would fasten upon others, and by the Apostle's sentence, Rom. ii. 1. is unexcusable ; being condemned by himself, by granting the Original Texts to be

corrupt, because he grants Various Readings as well as others. And upon this account, all Copies that are, or ever have been, (the autographa of the sacred Penmen only excepted,) must be said to be corrupt; because no scribes or printers ever had a privilege of not erring, and so all their failings, though never so small, must make the Text corrupt. And as the Originals, so all Versions, by this reason must be corrupt; and so there will be no Scripture in the world, but what is corrupt and uncertain; and, by consequence, unfit for a ground of faith or obedience. For, as Buxtorf saith, Vindic. Part. I. c. iv. p. 67. “Facile potuit error unius exemplaris corrigi ex alio meliore, et tandem emendatum satis exemplar cudi, licet non ad extremum usque apicem, (istud enim facile concedo, nec esse, nec fuisse, imo nec esse posse.”) And Vindic. Part. II. c. xii. p. 800. he saith, The Scripture is so preserved, “ut nulla, vel paucissima alicujus momenti σφάλματα, in iis demonstrare possint.” He that saith, there are *paucissima alicujus momenti*, grants that there are *some that are of moment*; which is more than the *Prolegomena* do any where affirm. And in the same place he adds, “Libros sacros à Mosis, Prophetarum, et Esdræ, temporibus ad nos usque, sine ulla lectionis varietate pervenisse, quia nulli assertimus, nulla etiam ratione probatio à nobis exigi potest.” With these learned men con-

cur, [O] Arnol. Bootius, a fierce defender of the Hebrew Text against Cappellus, Epist. ad Usse-
rium, sect. 64. and in his Vindic. Hebr. cap. xxiii.
p. 221. where he affirms our present Copies to
agree with the first *ἀντιγραφαί*, but excepts two
cases, “Præterquam in duobus casibus modo me-
moratis, ubi, vel de vitio, vel de varia lectione,
apertissimè constat.”

VII. Our Adversary, notwithstanding, pro-
ceeds upon this supposed charge, (of which him-
self is most guilty,) to prove that which is not
denied; nay, which was before proved to his
hand, *Prolegomena* vii. where also the arguments
to the contrary are answered: where the reader,
if he please, may find the chief arguments used
in the *Considerations*, with some others by him
omitted, to prove that the Original Texts are not
corrupted; so that I might spare both my own
and the reader's further trouble, and say nothing
more upon the point. But because they are urged
in the *Considerations*, to prove that there could
be no Variations in any Copies, not in the least;
and, by consequence, that there can be no Va-
rious Readings; we will take a brief view of
them.

VIII. Chap. ii. p. 168, 169, &c. — 181. He
objects, “the special providence of God; the care
and fidelity of the Church;” (*not the Romish
synagogue;*) “the care of the first writers giving

out authentic copies, which made it impossible for them to be corrupted, either wilfully or by negligence ; the public Copies preserved in the Synagogues, and after in the Churches ; the daily reading, studying, and weighing every word ; the weight of every letter in this book, which the transcribers knew to be the Word of the great God, &c. ; the care of Ezra and his companions ; the care of the Masorites and Jewish rabbins, giving an account of every word and syllable ; the prodigious things related of their diligence ; the consent of all Copies of the world, that not a word in the Mishna, Gemara, or either Talmud, is read otherwise than in our Copies ; our Saviour's silence not reproving the Jews on this account, when he spared them not for their false glosses, which secures us, that there were no mistakes voluntarily, or negligently brought into the Text before his coming ; the watchfulness of the Jews and Christians over one another, &c."—All which, as they prove the Text not to be wilfully corrupted, and that not any errors of consequence could creep in by negligence, to which end the most of these reasons are brought in the *Prolegomena* ; so they do not in the least prove, but that by the negligence or inadvertency of transcribers some small mistakes of no moment might escape undiscerned, (and so are nothing at all to our Author's purpose.) Of which we can

have no clearer argument, than the experience of all ages ; that notwithstanding all the care and diligence that could be used, yet Various Readings have been still observed in the best Copies, which must needs come at first from the negligence, or involuntary error, of the scribe ; as is confessed frequently by this author himself, and by all others that write of these things : so that to prove this, were to hold up a candle to the sun. We have more Copies of the Bible now, than ever were in any age ; and more that pretend to the knowledge of it. For, as S. Jerom, *Epist. ad Paulinum*, “ *Scripturæ ars est quam omnes sibi vendicant.*” And printing is a surer way to prevent errors than transcribing by far ; and yet have many errors daily escaped in printing the Bibles, and those undiscerned ; many passing for current, many years not observed ; and some of them altering the sense.

IX. The multitude of Copies, public and private, and of all such that studied and read them, might rather prove the Greek LXX. which was in more frequent use than the Hebrew, both among Jews and Christians, to have been free from all error, than the Original Texts ; and so the Vulgar Latin, the Syriac, and other Translations, of which were many thousand more Copies, and those studied, and read by thousands more than the Hebrew ; yet I know our author

will not grant that they were Translations free from all error, for he inveighs against them all as most corrupt, Cap. ult. Our printers also know, as well as the transcribers did of old, the weight and worth of what they print; and yet we know they are not free from error. The care taken amongst the Jews, from time to time, to get corrected Copies, by which others were examined, shews that there were still Copies that needed correction. What needed Ben Ascher, or Ben Naphtali, or R. Hillel, or others, to have taken such pains, and spent so many years, in the accurate writing of one Copy, if errors had not still crept into other Copies?

X. That of the Mishna and Gemara, (which are the integral parts of both the Talmuds, the one being as the Text, and the other as the Comment, and yet distinguished here from the Talmuds,) that they never read one word otherwise than they are in our Copies, is utterly *void of truth*, though repeated, p. 271. Witness Buxtorf himself, (one that I believe, is more versed in the Talmud than either of us,) Vindic. l. 2. c. xii. p. 808. “Publicè dico et scribo, inveniri quidè in Talmud, quòd Gemara in quibusdam locis dissentiat à Masora, hoc est, à lectione in nostris codicibus recepta, &c.” This cannot stand with our Adversary’s rash assertion, nor would it have been granted by Buxtorf to Cappellus, if it had not

been certainly true. The argument from our Saviour's silence was brought, *Prolegomena* vii. to prove that the Original Texts were not corrupted before his coming; the end of whose coming was not to correct every letter or word that was mistaken in any Copy of the Bible, but to assert the true sense against the corrupt glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, and to restore it to its original integrity, if any wilful corruptions had been, or errors of any moment, which might have endangered the saving truth; of which kind we say there are none; nay, so far were our Saviour and his Apostles from observing every casual slip of a scribe in Hebrew Copies, that they [P] made more frequent use of the Greek LXX. than the Hebrew, and quoted places out of the Old Testament according to that Translation, even where there seems to be some difference from the Hebrew, and left that Translation to the Christian Church, who used it generally for many hundred years, as the Greek Church doth to this day; as is largely shewed, *Prolegomena* ix. de Græcis Versionibus, sect. 38, 39, &c.

XI. But besides these reasons mentioned, chap. ii. of the *Considerations*, we find some others scattered here and there, which we will briefly examine, p. 168, 169. "He finds fault with the arguing from the oscitancy and negligence of transcribers of heathen authors, Homer, Aristotle,

&c. to shew that errors might creep into the Original Texts." This, he saith, "is not tolerable in a Christian, or any one that hath the least sense of the nature and importance of the Word of God." He urges likewise, "the care of the heathen about their Sybils' verses," p. 171. "that the Roman Pontifices would not do it negligently nor treacherously, &c." *Answer*: It is not denied, but that the Church of Christ had a religious care, that the Copies transcribed for public use especially, should be free from all errors, as much as could be; and that far more care was taken about them, than ever was taken by any about the writings of the heathen; nor do I know any who affirm the contrary. It is true, this argument is used by some, that the Various Readings in such authors, in matters of less moment, do not make all their Philosophy, Histories, &c. uncertain; and therefore the like Various Readings in some Copies of the Scripture, do not make the Scripture uncertain, or prove it to be corrupt. But what is this to the care and fidelity of the Church in preserving the Copies of the Scripture, which all acknowledge to be more than any had, or could have, in preserving any human writings, the Sybils' verses, or any other of the heathen's pretended oracles? But though their care was great, and therefore no wilful errors could pass, nor mistakes in any matter of con-

cernment; yet that they did never err, not in the least, needs no other confutation, than the comparing of all Copies, MSS. or printed, which have had errors of this kind, more or less, according to the diligence and care of the scribe or corrector, as ocular inspection demonstrates.

XII. Again, p. 17, 18, &c. he tells us, “the relief provided by Cappellus, and approved in the *Prolegomena*, against Various Lections, viz. That the saving doctrine of the Scriptures, as to the substance of it, in all things of moment, is preserved in the Copies of the Original, and in the Translations that remain,—is pernicious and insufficient; because, though it be a great relief against inconvenience of Translations, that the worst of them contains all necessary saving fundamental truth, yet to depress the sacred truth of the Original into such a condition, as wherein it should stand in need of such an apology, and that without any colour or pretence from discrepance in the Copies themselves that are extant, or any tolerable evidence that ever there were any other in the least differing from these extant in the world, will at length be found a work unbecoming a Christian Protestant Divine.—The nature of this doctrine is such, that there is no other principle or means of discovery, no other rule or measure of judging and determining any thing about it, but only the writing from whence it is

taken, it being wholly of Divine revelation, which is only expressed in Scripture ; so that, upon supposal of any corruption there is no means of rectifying it, as there is in correcting a mistake in any problem of Euclid, &c. Nor is it enough to satisfy us, that the doctrines above mentioned are preserved entire ; every tittle or *iota* of the Word of God must come under our care and consideration.”—He provides us therefore better security, p. 198. He tells us of “a Copy which was a standard to try all others by. The Vulgar Copy we use was the public possession of many generations ; and, upon the invention of printing, it was in actual possession throughout the world. This must pass for a standard, which confessedly is its right and due.” But p. 173. we are referred to all the Copies that are remaining ; in them all, we say, is every letter and tittle of the Word of God : these Copies are the rule, standard, and touchstone, of all Translations, &c.”

XIII. For answer : First, for what Cappellus affirms, I am not bound to answer. He was able enough to answer for himself while he was living ; and now he is dead, every one will trample upon a dead lion, who durst not look him in the face while he was alive. But as for the *Prolegomena*, I do not only say, that all saving fundamental truth is contained in the Original Copies, but that all revealed truth is still remaining entire ; or

if any error or mistake have crept in, it is in matters of no concernment, so that not only no matter of faith, but no considerable point in historical truth, prophecies, or other things, is thereby prejudiced; and that there are means left for rectifying any such mistakes where they are discovered, as hath been often said. Secondly, to say, that, upon any corruption in the saving doctrine supposed, there is no means of rectifying or restoring, is a very strange assertion. May not the consideration of antecedents and consequents, of places parallel, of the analogy of faith, the testimonies, expositions, and translations of the ancients, &c. help to rectify a corruption crept in? And may we not judge by one part of revealed truth of what agrees with it, or disagrees from it, as by any theorem of Euclid, what is agreeable with it, or disagreeable, though the one be by reason, the other by revelation? Is there no use of reason in matters of faith? or in judging of Divine truths? Vedelius might have spared his labour of a *Rationale*, if this be so. It is confessed by all, that Various Readings are found in the Original Texts, which several readings cannot both be from the sacred penmen, but the one must needs be false and erroneous. And if in such smallest things, (all being of Divine revelation, the least as well as the weightiest,) no way can be found to rectify any

mistake without a new revelation, the Scriptures are in an ill condition ; for by this means no error, once got in, can ever be amended or corrected.

XIV. Nor is it any where said in the *Prolegomena*, that there is any corruption in any fundamental truth crept into the Original Copies, or in any saving doctrine, whereby it may need rectifying or restoring ; nay, the contrary is both maintained and proved ; yea, that in no matter of moment there is any variety in the Copies. And though we grant lesser varieties to appear, (which is confessed by all,) yet we deny not, but that every tittle of the Word, though never so small, comes under our care, and ought not to be neglected. But for all the care we can use, such lesser varieties will happen, which being involuntary, and of little or no importance to the sense or matter, neither the providence of God is there prejudiced, nor the care of the Church to be called in question.

XV. But what better security gives he against the uncertainty arising from these varieties ? To make one Copy a standard for all others, in which no mistake in the least can be found, he cannot. No Copy can plead this privilege since the first *αὐτόγραφα* were in being. So it is confessed by Buxtorf and Bootius, his best authors. Nor can he tell us where this Copy is to be found to

which we must have recourse, and in which every tittle is entire and perfect. Some Copies there have been more correct than others, which deserve all due regard. But to find one that is free from all mistakes, even in the least, he will find a hard task ; yea, Buxtorf grants it impossible, as we have seen. What that Vulgar Copy was, which, before printing was invented, was in possession all the world over for many generations, and must pass for a standard, I would gladly know, and where it is to be found ; and should very much esteem it, if it could be shewed ; but this, I doubt, will prove an Utopian conceit. For doth our Adversary think there was no difference in the Copies that were in use before printing ? the collation of all MSS. Copies shews this to be false. Let him produce any two that are the same in every thing. Or doth he think, that those that first printed the Hebrew and Greek Text had only one Copy, and did not collate divers of the best they could find, or that there is no difference in the printed Copies, I mean, not typographical errors, but such as were in the Copies which they followed ? If any such standard were in being, surely we have it printed in some Edition of the Bible. Is it, for the Hebrew Text, the Venice Edition ? and if so, which of those Editions ? or Munster's, or Stephanus's, or the Regia, or Plantine's, or which of these ? And for the Greek,

let him declare whether it be Erasmus's Edition, or the Complutense, or Stephens's, or Beza's, or which it is. For that there are varieties and differences among them all, is evident, and cannot be denied. Neither let him say, the differences be of no moment; for this is said in the *Prolegomena*, with which he is not satisfied. This, therefore, which he tells us of a Copy which must be a standard for all others in every thing, and was in possession all the world over, is a meer chimera, a groundless fancy, and a vain imagination of that which never was since the *αυτογραφα* were in being.

XVI. But if he fly to his other refuge, and say, that in all the Copies extant, that is, in some one or other, every the least iota and tittle is to be found, then we are left more uncertain. For then we must have all the Copies that are any where throughout the world, and must compare them all together before we can find all the entire truth of God; for if we want but one Copy, there may be something in that which differs from the rest, and so we can have no certainty in the rest. Now all men know this to be impossible to get together all Copies whatsoever, and never to be expected; and therefore, upon this ground, it is impossible to attain any certainty about all and every tittle of the Word of God. Or suppose

we had all the Copies extant in the world, and could compare them together; yet, where they differ, how shall we, by any directions he gives us, know which Copy is right in this particular, and which in that? These ways, then, which he propounds being invalid and insufficient, I appeal to any whether it be not more satisfactory, to say that we have all saving truth preserved in the Copies, which are in common and public use in the Church of Christ; and that they are free from all errors in matters of moment; and that in other matters there are ways and means to judge of the best reading and what is most genuine, wherein our industry is to be used; and if there be some places wherein both readings render the sense so that we cannot tell which to prefer, (both being agreeable to the analogy of faith, and neither of them repugnant to any other place of Scripture,) that there is no danger to choose which we will; and whether there be any such danger in this assertion as is pretended? Our Author himself confesses, p. 300. that “in some of the Keries and Ketibs there is a difference in the sense, yea that some have quite contrary significations, as יָהּ and יְהוָה which occur fourteen or fifteen times;” and yet he salves all with this, that “neither of them is contrary to the analogy of faith.” If this be sufficient for *some Various*

Readings, why may it not be so for *the rest*? This, and less than this, he confesses is enough for *Translations*. And why this, which we have laid down, may not serve for the *Originals*, I cannot see; seeing the people's faith is immediately guided by *Translations*, and not one of a thousand understands the *Originals*.

CHAPTER V.

I. *The second Charge ; that we say, that our present Copies are not the same with those anciently used.* II. *The Prolegomena affirm and prove that our Copies are the same.* III. *Various Readings gathered out of Translations do not prove the contrary.* IV. *That all Books whatsoever, except the first Ἀυτίγραφα, are subject to Various Readings, yet the same Books.* V. *All differences of a Translation from the Original are not Various Readings.* VI. *A third Charge, that the same Fate hath attended the Scripture with other Books: this a pure Calumny.* VII. *Archbishop Usher, Buxtorf, and others, say the same with the Prolegomena.* VIII. *The Prolegomena often acknowledge God's special providence over these Books.* IX. *A fourth Charge, that we may correct the Original upon conjectures, proved a calumny out of the Adversary's words.* X. *The Prolegomena expressly maintain the contrary.*

I. WE proceed now to his other charges. The next is, "That we say, that our present Copies are not the same with those anciently used," p. 206. "That the old Translators had other Copies or differing Copies from them which we now enjoy," p. 311. "which did really differ from those we now enjoy and use," and Epist. p. 10. "which are utterly lost." This, though in a manner coincident with the former, is yet distinctly propounded ; and so we shall distinctly handle it. It

is indeed so gross a calumny, that the Author of it confesses, p. 312. " that he doth not remember that the *Prolegomena* do any where expressly affirm, that they of old had other Copies than those we now enjoy," and therefore he would gather it by consequence from some other position maintained in the *Prolegomena*. And what is that? viz. the *Prolegomena* affirm, that *Various Readings may sometimes be gathered out of some ancient Translations*; which the Adversary thus expresses very untruly, as we shall shew anon; " that by the help and use of Translations conjecturing how they read in their books, either with other words or letters, consonants or points, we may collect Various Lections, as out of the Original; which opinion he sees not how upon the matter it differs from that of Cappellus."

II. I answer, first: Not to question how truly he charges Cappellus, who no where that I know affirms this, but rather deprecates it as a calumny; whereas he saith he could not remember that the *Prolegomena* do any where expressly say, that they had other Copies of old, he could not but remember where they expressly say yea, &c. *Prolegomena* vii. sect. 16. (which, p. 146. he saith he hath looked through.) There, as we have already noted, it is proved that the Copies we now have are the true transcripts of the ἀντίγραφα of the Prophets and Apostles, and the very same;

and therefore here we have another proof of our Author's candour and sincerity, imposing upon his adversary as his proper tenets his own illogical consequence, when he knew that his adversary directly and not by consequence maintains the contrary. But this is familiar with him, to deduce any odious consequence from his adversary's assertion, which he never goes about to prove, because it cannot be proved; but takes it for granted, and upon that disputes against his adversary, when as indeed he fights with his own shadow.

III. What is held in the *Prolegomena* about gathering Various Readings sometimes out of Translations, shall be discussed in its due place. At present I do utterly deny his consequence. For whereas all the Various Readings of any Copies are maintained to be only in matters of no weight or concernment, and such as were at first casual errors or mistakes of transcribers, as is already shewed; and that those, that may be gathered out of Translations, are of the same nature and quality; if this be sufficient to prove that our Copies are not the same, then those that are likewise gathered out of the Originals, or have been, as the Keri and Ketib, and the like, (which are admitted by our Author,) will likewise prove that we have not the same Copies of the Originals.

IV. Nay, if this argument be sufficient, then it

will prove that we have no true Copies of any books in the world ; for there were never any yet, (except the holy penmen,) which have been so privileged, that the transcriber could not err, or that Various Readings, after frequent transcriptions, might not be gathered. Then farewell not only Scripture, but all other monuments either of divine or human learning: Then we have no true Copies of the writings of any of the Fathers, Commentators, Councils, nor of any authors of Philosophy, Law, Physic, Mathematics, History, &c. but all the old and genuine Copies are lost, and those we have are corrupt, spurious, and false ; and so the foundation of all divine and human learning is at once quite taken away! Buxtorf, as I have shewed, and others the most rigid defenders of the Hebrew Text, maintain that our present Copies are the same with the first *αὐτοῖς γραφαί*, and yet stick not to confess that they agree not in every thing, but that there may be some variation in smaller matters ; yea, that they should agree in every tittle, Buxtorf saith it is impossible. I would fain know what it is, that makes a Copy not to be the same with the Original? Must there not be some substantial difference, and that in matters of weight and importance that must make such a change? Shall every difference of a word or a letter, it may be once in nine or ten pages, work this

strange metamorphosis? Who ever affirmed such paradoxes? Is not a man the same individuum, when his hair is cut or his nails pared, that he was before, nay though his skin be scratched or some blood drawn? Why then is not a Copy the same with the Original, though there be some small difference in things not concerning the sum or substance of the book? Are not our Statute-books and Acts of Parliament, now printed, the same with the Original Copies, though the writers or printers be not infallible, but it may be have in some words or letters of no concernment, by casual mistake, varied from the Originals? Besides this, doth not our Adversary grant, that errors and casual mistakes have happened in matters of less moment, from whence Various Readings are sprung, which by his own logic should make the Copies not to be the same?

V. But from whence doth he draw this conclusion? From this: "that by the help and use of Translations conjecturing how they read in their books, either with other words or letters, consonants or points, we may collect Various Readings, as out of the Original." But this is most *partially* and *untruly* by him propounded, and nowhere affirmed in the *Prolegomena*. For 1. as we have already said, all differences of a Translation from the Original are not to be reckoned among Various Readings. *Proleg.* vi. sect. 8. 11. *The*

*mistakes of the translator, his paraphrastical expositions, adding or omitting some words which he judged needful or needless to the sense, the errors of the scribe, &c. must be accurately distinguished from the Various Readings ; but when no probable cause can be given why the translator so rendered some places, save the ambiguity of some words for want of points, or the affinity of some letters in form or sound, or transposition of a letter, or the like, (in which cases a change may easily happen,) there we may well gather that the Copies varied, and that the translator read the words so in his Copy, as they are by him rendered. Nor 2. do we say, that they always read with other letters or words, consonants or points ; for this might infer that all differences of Translations are from the difference of Copies, because all consist in other letters or words ; but when the letters are alike in figure or sound, or there is only a metathesis of the same letters, or ambiguity of a word without points, a mistake might easily happen in the Copies. Nor 3. do we say, we may gather the Various Readings, as out of the Originals ; for there is an express difference made between those gathered out of the Originals, and those out of Translations ; and of these it is said, Proleg. vi. sect. 8. *Non pari certitudinis gradu incedere ;* they are not of the*

same certainty with the other : so that we see herein is nothing true either in the premises or in the conclusion. I leave therefore this consideration ; wishing he would hereafter consider better what he writes.

VI. In the third place, he charges us with saying, "That the same fate hath attended the Scripture in its transcription, as hath done other books," p. 173. and p. 306. "That the Books of Scripture have had the fate of other books, by passing through the hands of many transcribers." For this he refers to *Prol.* vii. sect. 12. but never cites the words ; and yet adds, p. 173. "This imagination, asserted upon deliberation, seems to me to border upon atheism : surely the promise of God for preservation of his Word, with his love and care of his Church, of whose faith and obedience that Word is the rule, requires other thoughts at our hands !" In this we find the like truth and candour as in the rest : For, first, he makes us to speak that of the Scripture in general, which is only spoken of one particular ; wilfully leaving out that (as he knows who did of old) which would have proved all to be a pure calumny. The words are, *Nam in hisce sacra volumina idem fatum cum aliis libris subisse præsertim antiquis, et sapius descriptis, experientia planè testatur, Hoc à nemine hodiè aperte negari videri, &c.* In hisce, in these things, that is, to

be subject to *errata et mendæ leviores*, by negligence of transcribers, that is, to Various Readings. Is this the same, as to say, that God's providence extends no more to the preservation of these books than of all others, which the *Prolegomena* are so far from affirming, as is here suggested, that the contrary is both in the same place, and elsewhere, frequently maintained?

VII. The words precedent are, *Etsi textus originarii non sint à Judæis, vel aliis, studiosè corrupti, sed in omnibus quæ ad fidem et mores spectant puri et incorrupti; tamen scribarum incuria, vel temporum injuria, in textus originarios errata quædam et mendas leviores irrepere potuisse, et irrepsisse negari non potest, quæ aliorum codicum et interpretum collatione, aliisque mediis (de quibus supra) tolli et emendari possunt. Nam in hisce sacra volumina idem fatum cum aliis subiisse, &c.* What is more said here than was said by all others before, that have written of Various Readings? Buxtorf, Sixtin Amama, and others, whose words are brought in the same *Prolegomena* vi. de Variis Lectionibus, say the same. It shall suffice, to note the words of the reverend and learned Usher, there also quoted, *Epist. ad Lud. Cappel. p. 21.* "Sententia mea hæc perpetua fuit, Hebræum V. Testamenti Codicem scribarum erroribus non minus obnoxium esse quàm Novi Codicem, et omnes,

alios libros," What difference is there between the *Prolegomena* and the words of this reverend primate? And doth not the *Considerator* himself say the same thing, when he grants Various Readings in the Original Texts, which, he also saith, came from the failings and mistakes of the scribes?

VIII. As for God's special providence in preservation of these books, the denial whereof, he saith, borders upon atheism, he might have read in the same *Prolegom.* vi. sect. 15. that though there be such differences in some small matters of no consequence, *ita tamen invigilavit providentia Divina, Ecclesiæque diligentia, ut in iis quæ ad salutem necessaria sunt, et ad fidem et mores spectant, omnia pura et integra sint.* And sect. 3. in the same *Prolegomena* are cited the words of the learned Bochartus in that admirable work of his, *Geogr. Sacr.* Part I. lib. ii. c. 13. who, after he had said the same, with the *Prolegomena*, of Various Readings in the Scripture, as in other books, and that they do not infer any uncertainty; as some men fear, adds, *Quamvis exemplum sit valdè dispar, nam multo aliter invigilavit providentia Divina, ut sacros Scripturæ Codices præstaret immunes, &c.* Thus we see in the same place which the Adversary alleges to make good his charge, the contrary directly proved; which he could not choose but observe;

and therefore what honesty or fair dealing can be expected from him in other matters, who hath so wilfully erred in this, let the reader judge. I doubt not but that he hath read the *Preface to the Bible*: there he might have observed the publisher's words, p. 1. *Etsi autem in Librorum sacrorum conservatione Ecclesiæ opera usus sit Deus, tamen speciali providentia ita eis invigilavit, ut ab ipso primo inspiratos esse admiranda ipsorum conservatione monstravit, dum Divina hæc fidei speique nostræ monumenta tantis munivit præsidiiis, ut per tot seculorum decursus, inter tot imperiorum ruinas, tot regnorum mutationes et καταλύσεις, inter tot librariorum transcriptiones exemplaribus inter nationes dispersis, tanta terræ marisq; intercapedine disjunctas, contra hæreticorum fraudes et tyrannorum furores, qui ea vel corrumpere vel abolere conati sunt, sarta tecta ad nostra tempora conservata, et ad ultimum temporis articulum permansura sint.* I appeal to all men, even to the adversary himself, what could be said more fully concerning God's admirable preservation of these books, and whether he hath not abused the reader and publisher in this crimination. The publisher wrote upon deliberation, and need not retract any thing. I wish his Adversary had as well considered what he hath charged him with, for then the labour of both might have been spared.

IX. The ninth thing charged upon the *Prolegomena*, is p. 206. "That when gross faults crept into the Hebrew Text, men may by their own conjectures find out Various Readings;" and p. 159. "it is declared, that where any gross faults or corruptions are befallen the Originals, men may by their faculty of critical conjecturing amend them, and restore the native lections that are lost, though in general without the authority of Copies this be not allowed." For this he quotes, *Prolegom.* vii. sect. 12. I see our Author is still *semper idem*; a thread of untruth and calumny runs through the whole book; yet in this, of gathering Various Readings upon mere conjectures, he is less excusable than in some of the rest; not only because this whole charge is plainly rejected and disproved in *Prolegom.* vi. sect. ult. and reasons are given why it cannot be allowed; but also because the adversary acquits the author of the *Prolegomena* of it in other places, and acknowledges the same with thanks. For within two leaves he writes, p. 209. "Indeed, I do not find his (Cappellus's) boldness in conjecturing approved in the *Prolegomena*." Why do you then charge them with it? you might have said, you found it rejected and disproved. Again, p. 305. "That they (Keri and Ketib) are most of them critical amendments of the rabbins, is not allowed" (*by the Prolegomena*) "for

which latter part of his determination we thank the learned Author," p. 307. "In the mean time, I cannot but rejoice that Cappellus's fancy about these things," (*about conjecturing*) "than which I know nothing more pernicious to the truth of God, is not allowed." Thus you see we are accused and acquitted by the same pen.

X. But yet, for proof, he refers us to *Prolegomena* vii. sect. 12. where I desire the reader to see if there be one word, either of gross faults, or of amending by conjectures; unless, as I said before, *errata et mendæ leviores* do signify gross faults, *et quæ ex aliis codicibus aliisque mediis de quibus supra emendari possunt*, do signify the amendment of them by men's own conjectures. Lastly, in that, p. 159. now cited, it may be observed, that he confutes his charge in the propounding of it; for he saith, this way of correcting upon conjectures in general, without the authority of Copies, is not allowed of; which is a plain confutation of itself; for none ever denied, but that errors in one Copy might be corrected by other Copies; and how then are they to be found out and corrected by men's own conjectures? But thus he variously relates the opinion of his adversary, that either he might make his opinion hateful to his unwary reader, who haply might not read both places, or else that he

might have a starting hole, if he should be challenged for *falsifying*, saying, that in another place he related all truly ; and yet that relation is no less contradictory to itself, than the other is false : for to restore a reading by mere conjectures, and to restore it by another Copy, is a plain contradiction.

CHAPTER VI.

J. The fifth Charge, that we may gather Various Readings out of Translations, aggravated by the Adversary and odiously propounded. II. Nothing affirmed in the Prolegomena, but what most Protestants, Divines, and Commentators say. III. Four Uses of Translations expressed in the Prolegomena. IV. The present Reading is in possession of its authority. V. Translations not equalled to the Original, but subservient to them: Of correcting the Word of God. VI. To correct an error crept into the Original, is not to correct the Original. VII. Translations useful when any doubt ariseth about the true Reading. The present Reading not to be altered merely upon a Various Reading of a Translation. VIII. In what Case Various Readings may be gathered out of a Translation. IX. Such Various Readings not of equal authority with those gathered out of the Originals. X. Various Readings out of Translations are not in matters of weight. XI. That Various Readings may be gathered out of Translations, proved by ancient and modern Divines, and those great assertors of the purity of the Originals. XII. The words of Reverend Usher. XIII. Proved by divers instances undeniable. XIV. and XV. The Adversary's boldness, affirming there never was any Copy differing in the least from the present, disproved at large, contradicted by himself. XVI. The Keri and Ketib, what they are. XVII. The sixth Charge, that Keri and Ketib are critical Notes of the Rabbins, shewed to be false. XVIII. What the Prolegomena deliver about the Original; that the most are Various Readings gathered

out of ancient Hebrew Copies. XIX. The Adversary clears the Prolegomena from his own Charge. XX. He is not at leisure to prove their divine Original. XXI. Concerning the Notes out of Grotius. XXII. His great Worth and Learning. XXIII. The Reason of collecting these Notes out of him; not as specimina of Various Readings by Conjectures, of which scarce one or two in the Pentateuch; the most are Various Readings out of Greek Copies of the Old Testament. The Publisher not bound to assert all that is said by him, or any other, in their Notes exhibited in the Appendix.

I. THE fifth charge, which is that Gorgon's head, which so much *affrighted* our Adversary, as he saith, Epist. p. 19. and *startled* him, p. 146. is, "the gathering of Various Readings out of Translations;" and that, as he saith, Epist. p. 25. "when there is no difference in the Copies." This he frequently ingeminates, p. 158, and 206, 314, 311. This he makes "as pernicious a principle as ever was fixed upon by any learned man, since the foundation of the Church of Christ," Epist. p. 21. "excepting those of Rome." And upon this position, and that of the novelty of punctuation, he must needs cry out, *δὲ; πᾶ ὁλῶ*, "as not seeing any means of being delivered from utter uncertainty in and about all sacred truth," p. 25. Hence are those tragical exclamations, fearful outcries "of correcting the Original by the help of Translations," p. 311. "of printing the Originals, and defaming them, gathering up Trans-

lations of all sorts, and setting them up in competition with them," Epist. p. 9. " of advancing Translations unto an equality with the Originals, and setting them by it, and with it upon even terms; yea, using them as means of amending and altering the Originals; which is to set up an altar of our own by the altar of God, and to equal the wisdom, care, skill, and diligence of men, with the wisdom, care, and providence of God," p. 174. " of horrible and outrageous violence offered to the sacred Hebrew verity by learned mountebanks," p. 315. " 'This is to correct the Scripture,'" p. 344. " To correct the Word of God," p. 180. " To amend it at the pleasure of men," p. 347. " Of dreadful distemper, which may prove mortal to the truth of the Scripture," p. 314. And therefore he wishes, " that all Translations were consumed out of the earth, rather than this one figment should be admitted," p. 221.

II. One would think that reads these passages, that all religion lay at the stake; that some strange new doctrine were delivered never heard of before, which at once would overthrow the whole foundation of Christianity: when as it will appear upon the matter, that nothing is said in the *Prolegomena* more than what the best and learnedest Protestant Divines, and, in a manner, all Commentators have said and practised before, and those the greatest assertors of the Hebrew

verity ; and that the gathering of Various Readings out of Translations was never absolutely by any denied before.

III. What the *Prolegomena* do affirm concerning the use of Translations the reader may see. *Prolegom.* v. De Versionibus Scripturæ. Where it is proved out of Theodoret, Jerom, Chrysostom, and others, that, in the first and purest times of the Church, the Bible was translated into most Vulgar Languages ; the Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Gothic, &c. besides the Greek and Latin. And concerning the use and benefit of Translations, it is reduced to these heads : First, because all cannot understand the Original Tongues ; therefore Translations serve as so many pipes or channels to convey those living waters of salvation from the fountains to every particular nation and people, that so all may read and hear the wonderful works of God in their own tongue. Secondly, the wonderful [Q] consent of all Translations in all things of moment, though made at several times, and in several nations so far distant from one another, joined together only by the same common faith, proves these Books to be of Divine Original, and to have no other author but God, who so wonderfully preserved them, among so many changes and revolutions, against the fury and malice of

Satan, and all his instruments, persecuting tyrants, and subtil heretics and sectaries, who laboured either to corrupt or abolish the same. Thirdly, they bear witness to the integrity of the Original Texts, by their consent and harmony therewith, as is shewed in divers particulars, where some would have them to be corrupted, as that of [R] *Shiloh*, Gen. xlix. 10. and others ; as also to preserve them pure and entire to after ages, and to prevent the corrupting of them, either by the fraud of heretics, or negligence of the scribes ; for no considerable mistakes could pass in all, and so many Translations, in all parts of the world, but they might easily be found and amended by others. Fourthly, they serve as so many glasses to declare the true sense and meaning of the Scripture, as it was understood in those times, when they were made ; especially as they are exhibited in this work, where they may, at one view, be all compared together ; for if the Commentaries of particular learned men deserve all due regard, much more those Translations (which also are often paraphrastical) which represent the sense of so many great and famous ancient Churches : especially those in the Eastern tongues, which, because of their nearness and affinity with the Original, are fittest to express the force and energy of divers words and phrases in Scripture ; and, because of

their antiquity and general use, were of greatest authority among Jews or Christians. This is the sum of what is delivered concerning Translations in general there, or of any in particular elsewhere; with which how that agrees with which our Adversary charges the *Prolegomena* of correcting the Originals, yea of correcting the Word of God by them, may easily appear.

IV. Before we come to his reasons against Various Readings out of Translations, some things I shall premise, by which the reader may see both the untruths in the charge, and the invalidity of his reasons. 1. Though we grant, that Various Readings may be sometimes gathered out of Translations, yet we do not infer, nor doth it presently follow, that the present reading is corrupt or false, or must forthwith be corrected by the Translation. For though there were some difference in the Copies, yet it may be, the reading of our present Copies is the better, and therefore is not to be altered. Nay it is acknowledged and asserted in the *Prolegomena*, that the present reading being in possession of its authority ought not to be altered, though other Copies have formerly read otherwise, unless it can be evidently and clearly proved that some fault is crept into the present reading; and that we ought not to depart from the usual reading upon mere conjectures, unless evident necessity require, *Prolog. vii. sect. 23.*

In omnibus ad Textum Originarium recurrendum est, nisi ubi planè constat errorem in Textum irrepsisse ; ubi verò hoc probari non potest, necessariò ad Textum, ut ad normam, omnes Versiones probandæ sunt : nec satis est cum Bellarmino dicere, Ex fontibus, si puri sunt, corrigendæ sunt Versiones ; hoc enim supponi debet fontes esse puros, donec contrarium li- quidò probetur secundum regulam Jurisconsultorum : Quilibet præsumitur esse bonus, donec constet de contrariò. Nec tamen ex quibusdam instantiis probatur generalis fontium corruptio, sed tantum in his locis lapsum esse scribam, quod cum fontis puritate constare potest. So in sect. 22. Primæ lectionem Librorum Origin- alium, in vitio cubare clarè probandum est ; tum error corrigendus ; sic vera lectione restituta Textus Originarius Versionum regula et norma fit. To the same purpose sect. 25. Etsi Ver- siones, antiquæ præsertim, multum conferre possunt, cum erratum in Textum Originarium casu irrepsit ad veram lectionem indagandam, et restituendam ; tamen generaliter loquendo Versiones omnes secundum Textus Originales corrigi, et examinari debent. Nam cum omnes Versiones tanquam rivuli ex Codicibus Origina- riis ut fontibus fluxerint, necesse est, ut quic- quid veritatis in Versionibus inveniatur, illud à fontibus habuerint. Eatenus enim Versio

vera dici potest quatenus cum Textu Originario concordet. Sic enim Greg. de Valent. "Translatio vera est cujus sensus à suo fonte non deviat, sed sententias reddit easdem et æquales, nec ampliores, nec restrictiores," &c. Contradictionem itaque planè implicat, affirmare simpliciter fontem ex Versione corrigendum; æquè enim absurdum est, ac si quis solis motum ex horologio corrigere vellet; vel cum automaton aberrat, dicere solem irregulariter circumferri potius quàm vitium in automato concedere.

V. By all this it appears, that the *Prolegomena* do not equal the Translations with the Text, or make this one end of Translations, thereby to correct the Text; or as is most invidiously expressed, *to correct the Scripture: to correct the Word of God.* For though it be affirmed, that in some cases Various Readings may be gathered out of Translations, yet there is more to be considered before any change may be made of the present reading. For it must first be proved that the present reading contains something false and absurd, and cannot possibly stand; and then other things are to be considered, besides the bare reading of a Translation; the antecedents and consequents, the analogy of faith, collation of like places, the commentaries of ancient writers of the Church, comparing of other Copies, wherein also respect is to be had to the antiquity, mul-

titude, and goodness of the Copies in the care and exactness of the scribe ; as appears by the rules given about Various Readings, Proleg. vi. sect. 6. among which this also is one, (which our Adversary takes notice of, and seems to carp at or to pervert,) which all sober men cannot but like, viz. *That it is not for every private man to alter any thing in the received reading, though he seem to have never so strong reasons ; but the public authority of the Church, either express or implicit, is necessary.* “ A recepta lectione non temerè recedendum, sed moderatè rationes et conjecturæ proponendæ sunt ; et Ecclesiæ judicium expectandum,” &c. which he translates thus, p. 207. “ that in correcting the Originals we must take the consent of the guides of the Church ;” how truly let any man judge by what we have said. The reason is given in the same *Prolegom.* vi. sect. 6. *That if this were permitted to every man, Pro norma fidei regulam Lesbiam haberemus, &c. Si enim in decretis Principum et Regum aliquid immutare læsæ Majestatis reum efficit, quantum erit crimen aliquid pro libitu mutare in Sacris hisce Scriptis in quibus, ut olim S. Augustinus, de cælo Rex Regum, et Dominus Dominantium, loquitur !*

VI. Besides to correct an error crept into the Original is not properly to correct the Original, but to restore the Original to the true reading ;

for no error is part of the Original Text, and therefore when the error can be demonstrated, the true reading is restored, not the Original Text corrected, or the Word of God corrected at man's pleasure, as is no less vainly than falsely objected in the *Considerations*. When the Bible is printed, and the compositors have made a proof, which is corrected by those that attend that work, can it be properly said, that they correct the Word of God, when they correct only the mistakes of the compositor? And so when the sheet is past the corrector's hand, and is printed off; if some by a more exact view shall still find some errors, which need further correction, may this be objected to him, that he presumes to correct the Word of God? Who would not think this to be ridiculous? Yet such is the reason of our Adversary. What is known and confessed to be the Word of God, it must be madness and impiety in any to go about to correct; but when an error by negligence of the transcriber or printer shall have crept in, and it shall be proved to be an error, must not this be amended or corrected, but presently we are guilty of correcting the Scripture or Word of God? To correct the Original by a Translation, is to alter what is the true reading of the Original by a Translation, that so it may agree with the Translation; for so our Author would have his reader understand it,

and an ordinary reader will make no other sense of his words ; but is this the same with restoring the true and native reading, and to say, that not only other Copies, but even Translations, may conduce to this end ?

VII. It is one thing to make use of a Translation about the true reading of a place, when any doubt arises ; another thing, to make it equal with the Text. It may be made use of, when other Copies or pregnant and apparent reasons concur, but in this case it is not made equal with, but subservient to, the Text. To equal it with the Text, or to prefer it, is to correct the Text by it in all things wherein they differ ; as some Romanists say of the *Vulgar Latin*, (I say some, for the learnedest among them deny it ; and of those that affirm it, none ever yet attempted it.) But this had been senseless and absurd in our case, when there are diverse Translations, and those in some things differing from one another ; for it is impossible to conform the Text to them all, and therefore could never be by us intended. Here is then no altar set up by God's altar, nor any preferring of man's care and wisdom, before the care and wisdom of God ; but the preserving of God's altar, that it may not be thrust by, or any other set in its place ; and the using of our care and diligence, with that reason which God hath given us, in a subserviency to his care and pro-

vidence. Nor is this to defame the Text, when we labour to preserve the purity of it, and to restore it to its original integrity, when it can appear the transcribers have failed ; and so to transmit it to posterity. By this means we maintain the honour of the Text, and do what we can to prevent any mistakes for the future ; wherein *whether more be not done in this Edition than hath been done hitherto by others*, I appeal to the judgment of all impartial and judicious readers.

VIII. We never said, that all differences of the Translation from the Original are to be reckoned for Various Readings ; for it is frequently acknowledged that some variation may be by the mistake of the translator, or from paraphrastical expositions, where the sense and not the words are precisely expressed ; where something, it may be, is added, to clear the sense, and some words left out, as not so necessary for the sense ; and some errors may be from the transcribers of the Translations. *Proleg.* vi. sect. 11. *Proleg.* vii. sect. 23. *Proleg.* ix. sect. 12. 46. &c. But when no other probable cause can be given of the difference, save the variation of the Copy, and a plain reason may be given, why the translator so rendered it, as because of the ambiguity of words unpointed, or the change of letters alike in figure or sound, or transposition of

letters, and the like ; in these cases, I see no reason why we may not conclude that the translator read in his Copy as he hath rendered, and thence collect a Various Reading from a Translation.

IX. We do not say, that these readings are of equal authority with those that are gathered out of Original Copies ; nay, it is expressed, *Proleg. vi. sect. 8.* that they do not *pari certitudinis gradu incedere* ; and therefore it must needs follow, that the present reading of the Original ought not to be altered upon the bare reading of a Translation, but that other pregnant reasons and arguments must concur, as we said before.

X. To these also we add, that these different readings out of Translations, are of the same nature with those gathered out of Original Copies ; that is, they are only in lesser matters, not in things of any moment or concernment ; they are such, whereby our faith and salvation are no way endangered ; such as the Keri and Ketib, &c. Nor do we any where own that rule of Cappellus, That that reading, though by conjecture only, *ubi sensus melior fluit*, where the sense and coherence seem to be better, is always to be chosen ; for many times we may conceive a sense, which would better agree with the words, in our apprehension, which yet the words of the

Text will not bear, and the sense which the present reading hath may be maintained, and is followed by more, and better, and ancients Copies; and therefore I admit that rule no otherwise than reverend Usher, *Epist. ad Capellam*, p. 22. "Ubi cætera reperiuntur paria ex Variantibus Lectionibus, ea præferenda quæ sensum parit commodiorem, atque antecedentibus et consequentibus coherentem."

XI. These things premised, I say, that Various Readings may be gathered out of Translations, which may conduce to the true sense and reading, and may be taken into consideration when question shall arise about the reading of some place in the Original Texts. This is proved at large, *Proleg. vi. sect. 9, 10.* both by consent of the best divines, and men of greatest skill in the Hebrew, and greatest patrons of the integrity of the Hebrew Text, and by [S] apparent reason; of all which our Adversary takes no notice, but prudently passes over in silence (as in other places) what he could not answer. It is shewed out of Jerom, Beza, Casanbon, Drusius, Schindler, De Dieu, Bochartus, Hottinger, Salmasius, besides Brentius, Osiander, Calvin, Musculus, Mercer, &c. how common it is among Commentators and others, to gather sometimes out of Translations, how they read in their Copies differing from the present reading. Nor do I re-

member any author of note that generally denied the same, before the late quarrels of Bootius and Buxtorf against Cappellus ; who yet, whilst they grant conjectural Various Readings out of Translations (see Bootius's *Vindic.* 22. p. 325.) do in effect say as much as their Adversary : only our Author, without any distinction or limitation, absolutely denies all, of whatever kind or degree soever they be ; which, for my part, I know not any before him to have done. Nay, he tells us, p. 333. " That it is impossible to know how any translator read in his Copy, when he differs from the common reading." He might have done well to have given answer to those many instances and reasons to the contrary, mentioned, *Prolegom.* vi. and to the testimony of those great divines and linguists, whom he passeth by, as not worthy his notice. Were all these, and many others, no better than learned mountebanks, as he is pleased to call all of this opinion ? p. 315. Surely some of them at least might have deserved better language from him.

XII. The reverend Usher, though he would exclude the LXX. (how justly we have [T] shewed, *Prolegom.* ix.) yet grants that, out of other interpreters, Various Readings may be gathered. *Epist. ad Cappell.* p. 22. he saith, " Ex quibusdam veterum interpretationibus excerpti aliquas posse variantes Hebraici textus lectiones : " and

p. 4. "Cujusmodi παρατάματα ob characterum aut sonorum in vocabulis præcipuè Hebraicis similitudinem, aut levem aliquam à minus attento inspectore conceptam literarum transpositionem, multò etiam facilius possunt obrepere;" after which he adds, "Et ut in multis hujus generis locis, Hebraicum quo interpret usus est exemplar eandem, quam ille reddidit, lectionem exhibuerit; de eorum tamen *pluribus*," (he saith not, *de omnibus*;) "nullo nobis constare potest modo, utrum ipsi interpreti an codici quem præ manibus ille habuit, Hebraico ista accepta referenda fuerit differentia: præsertim si interpret ille ex Judaizantium fuerit numero." In the next page he saith the same of Bootius, (though Bootius labours, Vindic. c. 23. to wrest the Primate's words,) "Ex ea tantum versione, quæ LXX. nomen præfert, colligendas eas esse negat, (*Bootius*;) ex reliquis omnibus interpretibus desumi eas posse libenter concedit." We see what the opinion of this learned Prelate was, and that he saith as much as the *Prolegomena*; and yet it is well known how great a defender he was of the purity of the Original Texts.

XIII. But though he, and all others that say the same with him, must pass with our Author among learned mountebanks, and not be thought worthy any answer; yet, with his good leave, I will mind him of some of those places instanced

in the *Prolegomena*, and appeal to his conscience whether he thinks the translators did not read in their Copies as they have expressed in their Translation, Gen. xlvii. ver. ult. these words, עַל רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה are rendered by the LXX. ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, in *summitatem virgæ suæ*, and so the words are alleged, Heb. xi. 21. and so rendered by the Syriac, the difference arising only from the various pointing of הַמִּטָּה, which may be rendered either *super lectum*, or *super virgam*; *lectum*, if we read it מִטָּה *mitta*, but *virgam*, if we read it מַטָּה *matte*. Now, when the LXX. and the Syriac render *virgam*, and not *lectum*, whether may we not conclude that they read *matte* and not *mitta*, the difference being so small, and no colourable reason to be given or devised otherwise, why they should render it *virgam*, and not *lectum*? Hence there is scarce any expositor but observes this Various Reading out of this Translation. So Isa. ix. 1. it is observed by Casaubon, Exerc. 13. n. 21. ad annum 31. n. 32. that the LXX. by the change of a point, read הַקֵּל *hakel* for *hekal*, because they render it, ταχὺ ποίη, *citò fac*; whereas, according to the present punctuation, it signifies ἐκυψίσθη, *sublevata est*. Who will not conclude with this learned man, that they read *hakel*, rather than *hekal*, when their Translation agrees with *hakel*, and not with *hekal*, and

the difference is only in a point? So Exod. xxi. 8. The words, לְיָדָיו לֹא נָשָׂא are rendered by the LXX. and Jerom, *Quæ sibi desponsata fuit*, which, according to the modern reading, should be, *Quæ non desponsavit eam*. Who will not hence gather, that the LXX. and Jerom read לָ in their Copy, which signifies *sibi*, and not לָ non, as it is now, seeing לָ and לָ are in sound and pronunciation the same? And that they did, *de facto*, read so, appears by the Masora, which puts the different reading, לָ in the margin under ״ק and לָ in the Text. The like may be observed in Jerom, and the LXX. in Jos. xv. 47. Isa. xlix. 5. where the Masora also observes both readings: but suppose the Masora had not observed the differences, had it not been true, that the Copies had differed? And could not this variety have been gathered from Jerom and the LXX. without the Masora? Much more is brought to this purpose in the same place, all which the Adversary passeth by. To all which may be further added, Judg. viii. 16. וְעִם בָּנָיו וְעִם יְהוּדָה *and with them he taught the men of Succoth*. It is clear that the ancient reading was, וְעִם בָּנָיו וְעִם יְהוּדָה *and with them he tare, or threshed, &c.* as he had threatened them, ver. 7. וְעִם יְהוּדָה *then I will tear, or thresh*, LXX. κατίξανιν, as v. 7. καταξανῶ. Al. ἡλόησιν, as v. 7. ἀλόησω. Lat *contrivit*, as v. 7.

conteram ; see also the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic. Jos. ix. 4. וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר יָדָהּ לָהֶם and made as if they had been ambassadors, r. וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיִּקְחוּ וַיֵּלֶכְיוּ and they took victuals, or provision, for their journey : LXX. ἐπιστῆσαντο, καὶ ἡτοιμάσαντο. Lat. *tulerunt sibi cibaria*, so the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic ; so v. 12. וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיֵּלֶכְיוּ and v. 11. וַיִּקְחוּ צִדְקָה 2 Kings xx. 13. וַיִּשְׂמַח r. וַיִּשְׂמַח LXX. καὶ ἠγάπη, Lat. *et lætatus est* : so the Syriac and Arabic ; so our Bishops' Bible, (*and was glad of him* ;) so Isa. xxxix. 2. both in the Hebrew, and all Translations. Jerem. xv. 14. וַיִּעַבְדֵּנִי and I will make thee to pass, r. וַיִּעַבְדֵּנִי and I will make thee to serve, LXX. καταδουλώσω σι. So the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic ; so Jer. xvii. 4. both in the Hebrew, and all Translations ; Jerem. xxxi. 32. בָּם בָּעֵלְתִּי בָם I was a husband to them, r. בָּם בָּעֵלְתִּי I regarded them not ; LXX. ἡμίλησα : So the Syriac and Arabic ; so the Apostle, Heb. viii. 9. Now, let me appeal to any unbiassed man, yea to our Adversary himself, whether in these places they do not think in their consciences, that the LXX. and the other Translators read in their Copies as we have shewed, and if they did, whether it be not evident, that in some cases, Various Readings may be gathered out of Translations ?

XIV. What he farther writes in his way of declaiming, I shall not need to trouble myself

about, seeing nothing is by him brought that infringes our assertion in the least, the controversy being rightly stated. Only one thing I cannot pass by, wherein I cannot but admire his extreme confidence in urging a thing so palpably untrue, and so oft by himself contradicted: "Let them prove," saith he, "that there was ever in the world any other Copy of the Bible differing in any one word, from those that we now enjoy; let them produce one testimony, one author of credit or reputation, that can, or doth, or ever did, speak one word to this purpose; let them direct us to any relick, nay monument, any kind of remembrance of them, and not put us off with weak conjectures, upon the signification of one or two words, and it shall be of weight with us," p. 317. "The care of God over his truth, and the fidelity of the Jewish Church will not permit us to enter into the least suspicion that ever there was in the world any Copy of the Bible, differing in the least from those we enjoy—the authors of this insinuation cannot produce the least testimony to make it good," p. 319. This is a strange assertion; such as I think never any man maintained before; *not any Copy that ever was, to differ in one word, nay not in the least, which extends to syllables, letters, and points*; that no testimony no relick, no author of credit, no monument of antiquity, not the least testimony can be brought,

&c. ! Do not all the Various Readings both of the Old and New Testament proclaim the apparent untruth of this ? And doth not himself frequently confess, that there are varieties amongst Copies ? p. 173. " That in some Copies, and those of good antiquity, there are Divers Readings ;" p. 190. " that the Keri and Ketib are Various Readings ;" p. 296. " that the transcribers have had failings, and that Various Readings have thence risen," p. 165. So p. 191, 347. &c. What thinks he of those places in the New Testament, especially [U] that in 1 John v. 8. where a verse is left out in many ancient Copies, and appears so to have been by the Fathers that wrote against Arius ? Is there no author of credit, no monument of antiquity, that testifies that some ancient Copies wanted these words, which yet all our modern Copies have ? Are not the whole collections of Diverse Readings in Erasmus, Stephanus, Beza, Camerarius, and others, a real confutation of this ? He hath looked through the *Prolegomena*, as he saith, especially *Proleg.* vii. which he so much opposes ; he quotes sect. 12. And could he not there find many instances and testimonies of credit to disprove this general assertion ? He could not but read there the testimony of Kimchi, Præf. Com. in Proph. Priores : " Viri Synagogæ magnæ, qui Legem nobis in pristinum statum restituerunt, invenerunt differentias in libris, et secuti

sunt multitudinem ;” of Ben Chajim, in the Venice and Basil Bibles, who notes the difference of some Copies, besides the Keri and Ketib, which he notes not with a *’p* but with *מ”ל* that is *another copy*. But most evidently is this shewed in Jos. xxi. 36, 37. where two verses were left out in the second Venice Edition and in Jonathan’s Paraphrase, and in the margin the Masoretical note is, “that in no ancient and corrected Copies these verses are to be found, nor in the famous copy of R. Hillel; yet in some later Copies they are found;” whereupon learned Buxtorf, in his *Vindic.* part I. c. 4. p. 105, 106, &c. sticks not to affirm and maintain that they ought not to be put in, and that the ancient Copies are genuine: yea the number *מל* collected by the Masorites in this chapter agrees, if those two be left out; and yet they are now generally printed in our Copies, and the context shews that they ought to be there. In the same section is added, that Junius besides the Keri and Ketib notes a difference of diverse words, differing in sense also, out of an ancient MS. Hebrew Copy at Heidelberg, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 5. and xxxv. 3. which he prefers before the modern reading.

XV. The like is shewed in the next section out of many places in St. Jerom, an author of good credit in these things. *Epist. ad Suriam et Fretel.* upon these words, Psal. xxxv. 10. “Om-

nia ossa mea dicunt, Domine," he saith, "se deprehendisse in Editione, LXX. *bis Domine*;" and after adds: "Multa sunt Exemplaria apud Hebræos, quæ ne semel quidem Dominum habent." But in our modern Copies it is once. In the same Epistle upon those words of Psal. cxxx. 4. "Propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine," he saith, "Aquilam legisse, תורה et vertisse φόβον, *timorem*, Theodotionem verò et Symmachum legisse, תורה, et vertisse νόμον, *legem*," where he not only grants the Hebrew Copies to have varied, but also gathers a Various Reading out of the Translation of Aq. Theod. and Symm. yet neither reading is in our present Copies, which read תורה *timeberis*. The same on Hos. v. 13. write, "Alii malè legunt, יערי per ך literam quæ transfertur in *syloas*, pro יריב Jareb," which agrees with our Copies: so on Hab. ii. 19. "Sciendum in quibusdam Hebraicis voluminibus, non esse additum *omnis* sed absolutè *spiritum* legi." Here we see the word כל *omnis* was wanting in some Hebrew Copies in Jerom's time. Much more might be brought of Jerom and others to this purpose. These places, except only the last, our Adversary had read in the *Prolegomena*, and yet affirms, there never was any Copy in the world differed in the least from our present Copies, and that no testimony nor author of credit, nor any relick of antiquity could be brought to the con-

trary. Was he in a dream, or were his wits a wool-gathering when he wrote this? Or, having read these things in the *Prolegomena*, to which no answer could be given, did he write the contrary to delude the ignorant reader? I do not know how to excuse him. He tells us elsewhere, Ep. p. 17. we must grant (concerning Various Readings in the New Testament) what ocular inspection evinces to be true. But now it seems we must be hoodwinked, and not believe what we see with our eyes; and though nothing be more clear, than that there were of old, and still are, differences in the Hebrew and Greek copies, yet we must believe there never was any Copy different from our present Copies, not in the least!

XVI. We have done with this which was the main charge. The next thing is about the Keri and Ketib, that is, certain marginal notes in the Hebrew Bibles, where the Keri is the word that must be read, placed in the margin, with a "פ the Ketib, or word written in the text, marked with a little circle or cipher, to which the points belonging to the marginal word are put, to intimate, that this word, though written in the Text, ought not to be read, but that in the margin; concerning which I have [W]spoken at large, *Proleg.* viii. sect. 18, 19, &c. ad 27. where is shewed what they are, sect. 18. to what heads they may

be reduced, sect. 9, 20. that the number is not the same, but much differing; by two or three hundred in the chief editions of the Bible, sect. 21. that the authors of them were not the sacred penmen, nor Eadras and his fellows, sect. 22, 23. that the most of them were collected by the post-talmudical rabbins, out of several ancient Copies; and that they left the common reading in the Text; and put the other, which they judged the better, in the margin; and that some of them were gathered before the Talmud, sect. 24. that they were not critical conjectures of the rabbins, but Various Readings, and some few of another nature, sect. 25. After which are added some observations about them, sect. 26. I shall not go over the same things again, but refer the reader to the *Prolegomena*. Nor do I know to what purpose our Author goes over them here. I shall only touch upon what is untruly by him charged on the *Prolegomena*.

XVII. Page 206. He reckons this among the paradoxes in the *Prolegomena*, that the Keri and Ketib are critical notes, consisting partly of the Various Readings of the Masorites, and late rabbins; and p. 157 he sets it down thus: "That the קרי וכתוב, of which sort are above 800 in the Hebrew Bibles, are Various Lectons, partly gathered by some Judaical rabbins out of ancient Copies, partly their critical amendments: for

which he cites in the margin, *Proleg.* 8. sect. 23, &c. Answer: In both there is nothing truly related; but untruth and nonsense jumbled together. For first he saith, "They are critical notes consisting partly of Various Lections," which is a kind of contradiction: for if they be *critical notes* they cannot be either in part or in whole *Various Lections*. *Critical notes* are such wherein men give their own judgment upon some reading, whether it be true or false; or which reading they like best: *Various Readings* are the differences of Copies collected and offered to the reader's judgment. In the other place he makes them all to be Various Readings, but partly collected by some rabbins out of ancient copies, and partly their critical amendments; that is, some of them are gathered out of Copies, others are gathered without authority of Copies, grounded only upon their critical faculty in conjecturing. This may be his meaning, or else I cannot make any good sense of his words. Howsoever he explain himself, the charge is no less void of truth than of sense, as the place by him cited will plainly shew to any that will look into it, (for still he never quotes the words,) where it will appear that there is not one word of critical conjectures; or that any part of the *Keri* and *Ketib* are such conjectures; nor is there any mention at all of conjectures, save that the Author shows his dislike of them.

XVIII. That which is affirmed of them in these sections is, 1. that Esdras and his fellows were not the authors of these notes, but that they were gathered long after his time, partly before and partly after the Talmud; that they could not come from Esdras or the Prophets of his times, because these Various Readings (for so they are generally acknowledged, as by most divines, so by our Adversary himself,) are found in the writings of Esdras, and the latter Prophets, as well as in the rest; and it were very absurd to think that they gathered Various Readings out of several Copies of the books they had written, and to place one reading in the margin, and the other in the Text, as if they knew not which were the true reading of their own Books; and that any of the rest should be gathered either by them or any other of the holy penmen is no less absurd, both for the same reason, as also because they would have restored the true reading, (if they had found any difference in Copies,) which they, being infallibly guided, might have done, and not have left it doubtful which reading was to be followed, or what was the true sense of the Holy Ghost, by noting both the readings, and so leaving all in suspense. This is altogether unbefitting the holy penmen of Scripture: and our Adversary, though he be loth to yield to the truth, yet confesses he is not able to satisfy himself in the original and

spring of this variety. 2. It is proved, sect. 24. that some of these were observed by the talmudical rabbins, being mentioned in the Talmud, as those “*de vocibus scriptis et non lectis, et de lectis et non scriptis,*” and those which they call *obscene*, for which these *chaste rabbins*, who would be wiser than God and more pure than the Holy Ghost, put others which they judged more modest in the margin to be read in the Synagogues, according to that in the Talmud, Megil. c. 3. “*Omnes voces quæ in Lege sunt obscenæ eas legant honestè;*” that all the rest (of which there is not a word in the Talmud) were collected by the Masorites after the Talmud. 3. That question is handled, whether, supposing the Masorites to be the authors, they gathered them out of various Copies, or made them out of their own judgments and critical conjectures: where it is concluded, that excepting those which they counted *obscene*, of which number are ten, which could not proceed from the difference of Copies, but from the boldness and superstition of the rabbins, and excepting נֶעֱרַךְ and יִשְׁלַח (which have a peculiar consideration) that all the rest came from variety of Copies, where they noted the one reading in the margin, not daring to change the reading of the Text out of reverence to the antiquity of their Copies, but left it as it was, only they joined the points of the marginal word to that

in the Text, to shew that the word of the margin was to be read, which they judged the better reading.

XIX. This is the common opinion and judgment of the learned in these matters, such as Mercer, Drusius, Bertram, Erpenius, Pagett, Piscator, Sixtin Amama, &c. and of Buxtorf himself. And after all, are related the arguments of Cappellus, who labours to prove, that the Masorites gathered them not out of private Copies, but by their own critical conjectures; whose opinion is disliked, and his arguments answered. By all this it appears most clearly, that our Adversary abuses both his reader, and the author of the *Prolegomena*, with palpable untruths, ascribing that to the author of the *Prolegomena*, which he is so far from holding, that he maintains the clean contrary. For he proves, that *the Keri and Ketib are not critical amendments of the rabbins, but Various Readings of ancient Copies, (except those before excepted, which he is so far from making critical amendments of the Texts, that he taxes the rabbins for their boldness and superstition therein :)* yea, the Adversary himself, though he thus writes, yet in expressive terms elsewhere, (forgetting what he had formerly said,) acquits the author of the *Prolegomena* from this calumny, p. 305. "That they are all, or most of them, (Keri and Ketib,) critical amendments of the rabbins is

not allowed, (in the *Prolegomena*,) for which latter part of his determination we thank the learned author ;" and p. 307. " In the mean time, I cannot but rejoice, that Cappellus's fancy, than which I know nothing more prejudicial to the truth of God, is not allowed." Thus we see, we are still accused and acquitted by the same pen, as I have already said.

XX. After these, he tells us, that the arguments brought against the divine original of the notes are capable of an easy solution, which he is not at leisure as yet to shew, although he had told us before that he could not satisfy himself about the original of this variety. In the mean time, let him enjoy his own opinion, and let me enjoy mine : and if he can bring better proofs for the divine original than I have brought against it, I shall acknowledge my error ; if not, I expect he will retract his, and some other things he hath about the Keri and Ketib ; which I shall have occasion to answer in another place, and therefore I pass them by here.

XXI. Before I conclude this chapter, something must be added concerning the notes extracted out of Grotius, which the Adversary saith, " are brought as an instance of collecting Various Readings upon conjectures," or rather of " corrections of the Original, when any gross corruptions have befallen them," p. 159, 206, 315.

Now, though I might well pass over what is here charged, it being no where acknowledged in the *Prolegomena*, that the Original Texts are corrupted, but the contrary maintained; nor that upon mere conjectures Various Readings are to be gathered, (as we have already shewed,) and therefore, that these notes out of Grotius could not possibly be brought for any such end: yet, because it is the opinion of some learned men, that these collections out of Grotius are one main cause of all this stir against the *Biblia Polyglotta*, I shall briefly consider what he objects upon this account. This we find chiefly, p. 313 and 348. In the first place he saith, "That to make this evident by instances, we have a great number of such Various Lections gathered by Grotius in the *Appendix*. He wondered at first view, how the volume should come under that name. The greatest part give no Various Lections of the Hebrew Text, as is pretended, but various interpretations of others from the Hebrew. But the *Prolegomena* salves this seeming difficulty. They are not Various Lections collected out of any Copies extant, or ever known to have been extant, but critical conjectures of his own for the amendment of the Text, or at most conjectures upon the readings of the words by Translators, especially the LXX. and Vulgar Latin." In the other place, he saith, "he shall not much concern himself therein, they

are nothing less than Various Readings of that learned man's own observation, setting aside, first the Various Lections of the LXX, the Vulgar Latin, Symmachus, and Theodotion, wherein we are not concerned. Secondly, the Keri and Ketib, which we have oftentimes, over and over in this Volume: Thirdly, The Various Readings of the Greek and Occidental Jews, which we have also elsewhere: Fourthly, conjectures how the LXX, or Vulgar Latin read by altering of letters only: Fifthly, conjectures of his own how the Text may be mended; and a very little room will take up what remains. By the cursory view he hath taken of them, he sees not one word that can pretend to be a Various Lection, unless it belong to the Keri and Ketib, or the difference between the Oriental and Occidental Jews."

XXII. Answer: I am not ignorant with what an envious eye[X] that incomparably learned man, the miracle of our times, is looked upon by all our Novellists; and that his earnest study of the peace of the Church, and endeavour to close up, rather than to make wider the breaches and wounds of Christendom, hath exposed him to the malice and fury of the turbulent and fiery spirits of all sides. I shall not need to apologize for him; what height of learning and depth of judgment dwelt in him, his works proclaim to all learned and moderate men, and will speak to all posterity;

others have, with more able pens, vindicated him from those obloquies and aspersions, which unreasonable men have cast upon him. A man he was of that eminency in all kinds of learning, divine and human, of that exact judgment, prudence, piety, and moderation, that I believe he hath left but few equals in the Christian world: In his younger years he was by Scaliger himself (whose over-weening conceit of his own great abilities would hardly permit him to speak well of any) styled *ὁ θαυμαστός*, in his Epistles: I could not therefore but think that an extract out of his learned Annotations might be fit amongst others to be inserted in this work, and the rather because he was one that did not *extrema sectari*, but, without inclining to any party or faction, did propose to himself the search of the naked truth for itself, and therefore I might hope that this pains would be thankfully received by learned, wise, and moderate men, wherein I know I have not failed of my ends. As for those violent and heady spirits, *turba gravis paci*, &c. I know it is in vain to think of satisfying them, or to hope that any thing will relish with them, save what is fitted to their own distempered palate: for as Espenc. in Tit. 1. “*Quibus os putet, omnia putida sunt, non alimenti, sed oris vitio.*”

XXIII. I shall not need therefore to apologize, either for him or for myself, in publishing this

Extract, but shall observe, that our Author will proceed in his usual way of calumnies. For first, he cannot make it appear by any one word in the *Prolegomena* or *Appendix*, that this was the end of publishing his notes, as an instance of gathering Various Readings by conjectures, when the Text is corrupt, but merely because of his great and general learning, which might make them acceptable to learned and moderate men; for which cause, I conceived, they might justly deserve a place amongst the collections of other learned men of the like nature which are here exhibited. Nor secondly, do these notes consist only or chiefly upon such conjectures; there are scarce one or two in the whole Pentateuch; nor doth he go merely upon conjectures, but usually upon some ancient Translations, or testimony of ancient writers, and reasons drawn from the circumstances of the Text; and so for other books of the Old Testament, the most of them are critical notes about the several Translations of others, and about the literal sense and reading of the Text; scarce one or two of the *Kerics* are mentioned in three or four books, as we shall shew anon; and therefore *not served over and over*; yea, our Author himself, p. 348. contradicting what he had said, p. 313. and elsewhere, after his usual manner, saith, "they are nothing less than Various Readings of that learned man's

own observation," and therefore *not such conjectural Various Readings, as he saith, are brought for instances in the Appendix.* Thirdly, that those out of the New Testament, which are for the greater part of that Extract, are Various Readings out of several Copies, (not bare conjectures,) with his judgment upon them, and the reasons for it; and therefore our Author may cease wondering how these few sheets, (which are nothing less than a volume, as he calls them,) should come under the name of Various Readings; seeing the greatest part, which may give denomination to the whole, consists of Various Readings of the New Testament: and though there be other observations amongst them of great use and worth; yet the greater part consisting of *Diverse Readings*, might well give the name to the whole. Besides, it is not said in the Title, that they be all Various Readings of the Hebrew, but Various Readings in general; and though there be few of the Hebrew in the Old Testament, yet there are others of the Greek, Septuagint, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila; the Vulgar Latin, and other Translations; besides those of the New Testament; and therefore the *Prolegomena* needs no such way, as is by him furnished, to salve a difficulty which is not. Fourthly, the publisher did never take upon him to defend whatsoever is said by any in their notes which are added to the Bible; he is not bound to

maintain all that Nobilius, Lucas Brugensis, Mr. Young, or any others have said in any of their observations, but thinks it enough that in general they are of great use, and acceptable to learned men, who know how to make use of them ; and that to satisfy the desires of such, he had just cause to annex them to *This Edition* : but if any man shall meet with some things, which he cannot relish, let him not reject the gold, because of some dross, or the wheat, though there be some chaff. The publisher professes, there are some things which he cannot wholly subscribe to, yet he is far from rejecting the whole, or thinking it therefore not fit to be published : he proposes them to all : let every man judge as he thinks fit, and abound in his own sense : whether they approve, or reject, more or fewer, it shall be no offence to him.

CHAPTER VII.

I. *Divers Charges upon these Various Readings here exhibited in particular.* II. *The great bulk of them, that they are served twice or thrice over. This calumny answered. All those of the Original Texts may be comprised in two or three sheets.* III. *Neither all differences whatsoever, nor those out of all books printed or written, here collected. The vast untruth of this charge shewed for the Hebrew.* IV. *And the Greek.* V. *The comparing of many Copies useful.* VI. *Practised by others, and commended by Origen, Jerom, Erasmus, Beza, Camerarius, Nobilius, Stephanus, &c.* VII. *The great use of collecting Various Readings out of several Copies.* VIII. *To prevent future mistakes.* IX. *Practised by the Jews.* X. *Approved by Buxtorf.* XI. *His Critica Sacra now printing at Basil; the title-page sent over.* XII. *The difference of the Keri and Ketib, in sundry Editions, not by mistake of the printer.* XIII. *The difference of divers printed Copies shewed in some instances.* XIV. *The great use of the two Catalogues of the Keri and Ketib, not twice mentioned to increase the bulk.* XV. *That the Copies are, some of them, the ancientest in the world: They are all sufficiently attested.* XVI. *Of Beza's Copy.* XVII. *The MS. of Emmanuel College in Cambridge. The Adversary's mistakes: that Morinus is an aspiring Jesuit: that Ben Chajim corrected the impression of Felix Pratensis, &c.* XVIII. *That divers differences of Copies are omitted: the publisher not bound to give a judgment of those exhibited.* XIX. *In this Edition, together with*

the chiefest Translations, are exhibited the most and ancientest Copies: The MSS. accounted great treasures in private Libraries, now put into every man's hand.

I. BESIDES these generals, there are divers things which he finds fault with, in these particular readings here exhibited in the last Volume, which we must consider, before we pass from this head of Various Readings. He is offended with their multitude and great bulk, questions the antiquity and goodness of the Copies, and the fidelity of the collectors; is angry that they are barely propounded, and no choice made, nor judgment given on them: of all which in order. First, for the bulk, he saith, he was "startled at this bulky collection," p. 146, p. 188. "What a bulk or heap they are now swelled to, we see in the *Appendix*;" so p. 206, and 349. "a spurious brood that hath spawned itself over the face of so much paper," as p. 192. yea, "whatever varying word, syllable, or tittle, could be brought to hand, wherein any books, though but of yesterday, vary from the common received Copies, though manifestly a mistake, superfluous, or deficient, inconsistent with the sense of the place, yea barbarous, is presently imposed upon us as a Various Reading," *ibid.* So p. 194. "All differences whatsoever, that could be found in any Copies, printed or otherwise, are equally given

out; yea, p. 194. "It is manifest that the design of this *Appendix* was, to gather every thing of this sort that might by any means be afforded; and however Satan seems to have exerted the utmost of his malice, men of former ages the utmost of their negligence, of these later ages of their diligence, the result of all is in this collection of the *Appendix*," &c. Nay, "to increase the bulk, divers of the same readings are twice, and oftener, mustered over. The Keri and Ketib are twice served over, to increase the bulk, and present a face of new variety to the less attentive reader," p. 158. and 304, 305. yea, "a third time in Grotius," p. 348, 349. "over and over;" and "so those of the New Testament are given over again by Grotius and Lucas Brugensis. The collection of them makes a book bigger than the New Testament itself," p. 189, &c.

II. For Answer: First our Adversary, by these many reiterated expressions, would intimate, as if all the *last Volume*, or *Appendix*, consisted of nothing but Various Readings of the Original Texts, when as the whole Volume consists of above two hundred sheets, of which there are not above two sheets of the Hebrew Various Readings, viz. only the Keri and Ketib, with those of Ben-Ascher, and Ben Naphtali, the Oriental and Occidental Jews, (which are in divers other Editions of the Hebrew Bibles,) reckon-

ing in also the Annotations about the Keri and Ketib ; yea, the bare readings themselves might be reduced into almost one sheet : and as for those of the New Testament, gathered out of above forty old Greek MSS. they are all contained in nine sheets, of which the very names of so many MSS. so often repeated upon necessity of every difference, with the present reading of the Text, and the noting down the chapter and verse at every Various Reading, takes up the most of those sheets ; so that I durst undertake, that all these differences noted out of those MSS. if they were printed by themselves, (without any thing else added,) might be reduced into one or two sheets : so that here this great voluminous bulk is shrunk, from two hundred sheets, to two or three. The greatest part of that Volume is spent about the Greek Septuagint ; wherein are those large notes of Nobilius, that rich magazine and treasury of learning, so accounted by all learned men ; Master Patrick Young's notes upon Tecla's Septuagint ; the collation of the Venice and Complutense Edition of the Sept. with the Roman : whereby the reader hath, in a manner, all the several Editions of the Sept. here presented in one Volume, and may consult them all at pleasure, with divers other old MSS. divers notes upon the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Persian, Ethiopic, and Vulgar Latin ; of all

which, with the Tables of the proper names expounded, and an Index of all the Scripture, is that Volume, in a manner, made up; which things, before they were printed (the heads of them being published and sent abroad) were much applauded by all, never disliked, that I could hear of, till now, by any.

III. That all differences whatsoever are here collected out of all books, printed or written, every varying word, tittle, or syllable, that could be brought to hand, is far from truth, as appears by the readings themselves, and the Copies out of which they were gathered, which our Author could not be so blind as not to read, though he was in such haste that he could not consider how *the calumny did confute itself, and might be found out by every one that looks upon the names of the Copies*: For first, there is not one Hebrew Copy, either MS. or printed, here collated, or any differences collected, save those of the Keri and Ketib, Ben Ascher, and Ben Naph-tali, the Eastern and Western Jews, which our Author himself tells us are in most Editions of the Hebrew Bibles; only here they are more perfectly enumerated than in any former Edition, being gathered out of divers chief Editions of the Bible compared together, amongst which there is a difference of two or three hundred in some Editions, which confutes the opinion of Arias

Montanus, and some others, (of whom our Author seems to be one,) that would have the Keri and Ketib. to be the same in all Copies whatsoever ; which labour might deserve, as it hath found amongst learned and ingenious men, thanks and acceptation, rather than reproach and contumelies. Other varieties in the Hebrew Copies are not collected, (though divers might have been, as we shall see anon ;) nor did we want Hebrew MSS. of good antiquity, one belonging sometime to Leo Modena, written above three hundred years ago ; another more ancient, belonging to[Y] Caius College in Cambridge, part of which was collated ; of which, because it seemed to be negligently written and for other reasons, I did not think fit to mention the differences. So here we see how far from truth this charge is concerning the Hebrew.

IV. And as far as it is from truth concerning the Greek Text of the New Testament : for (as any may see) here was not one printed Copy collated, (though there be many differences between the Editions of Erasmus, Beza, the Complutense, &c. and others, as all know who have collated any,) and divers MS. Copies we had which were not collated at all, but chose out those that are exhibited, leaving out the rest. Those Various Readings observed out of the Complutense, are indeed, most of them, noted

among the rest, but not by comparing any printed Copy, but as they are in Stephens's Various Readings, gathered out of his sixteen Copies; so that we see how far our Author hath exceeded for the number.

V. But suppose that more Copies MS. and printed had been collated and exhibited, was it ever accounted a crime before now? If to consult and compare ancient Copies had been heretofore always accounted good service for preserving the original Text, or confirming and restoring the true reading, is their diligence to be [Z] condemned that have done more than others before them in that kind? If it were commendable in some, it cannot justly be blamed in others. Those that have heretofore laboured about any special Editions of the Old or New Testaments, used to consult with all the ancient Copies they could get, or others of good note. Thus did Origen in his Hexapla; thus did St. Jerom, as appears frequently in his works; so did the Complutense divines, Montanus, Erasmus, Beza, Nobilius, Heintenius, Lucas Brugensis, the Louvain divines, and others; thus among the Jews did Ben Ascher, Ben Naphtali, R. Hillel, R. Ben Chajim, R. Menachem, Ben Louzano, R. Manasseh Ben Israel, &c. they compared divers Copies, noted the differences, and sometimes gave their judgment, pitching upon that reading

which they judged to be best. Where is our crime, who do the same now ? nay, not so much, seeing we do not presume to alter any thing in the received or common reading, but only propound what we find, and leave it to others to judge as they shall see cause.

VI. Our Author commends Erasmus, Beza, Camerarius, Stephanus, and others, for the same thing for which we are reprov'd. It seems, if this had been done by others, all had been well. Rob. Stephanus in his Edition of the Vulgar Latin, in 1540, names many old Copies he had collated, whose Different Readings he put in the margin ; and in his accurate Edition of the New Testament, he reckons sixteen Greek Copies, which he collated, and out of them noted 2384 Various Readings, which he thought fit to put in the margin of his Edition ; nor was he ever blamed by any, but highly approved by all for his pains and diligence. Lucas Brugensis, a man of great learning and judgment, and a great defender of the Original Copies and one who spent most of his time in collating old Copies of the Hebrew, Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, and Latin, in that excellent book, his *Notationes in loca variantia S. Scripturæ*, reckons up above 100 Copies which he compared and used. Heintenius and the Louvain divines, as appears by their notes, used all the Copies printed and MSS.

which they could get, that they might help forward a correct and perfect Edition of the Vulgar Latin. Erasmus, in his Preface to his excellent *Annotations on the New Testament*, tells us what Copies he compared, and what pains he took about the several readings, that no error might pass, but the genuine reading might be established. But now it seems the case is altered; the more Copies we use, the more labour is spent to no purpose. We are told that in gathering these Various Readings, we have the utmost of "Satan's malice, the negligence of former times, and the diligence of later times, needlessly, yea, to eminent scandal heaped up together: for the result of them all is in this Appendix!"

VII. But could this Aristarchus see nothing useful in the variety of Copies? Saint Augustine was of another mind, when he wrote thus of the variety of Translations in his time. "*Tantum abest ut ea varietate offendi, turbari, et incertus reddi debeat pius et Christianus lector, ut ex earum collatione et examine certior reddatur, quid potissimum sequendum sit, quam si unica duntaxat versio esset?*" and why may we not say the same of the Various Readings of the Original? Methinks it shews a special providence over these Books, that notwithstanding some variety in smaller matters, all do constantly [A] agree

in all matters of weight, whether of faith or life, yea, historical and prophetical; for it will be hard for him, or any other, to find in all this bulky collection any one place which intrenches upon any point of faith or religion, or any other matter of moment; which must needs shew God's wonderful care in preserving this rule of our faith and life entire without any danger; and even in those lesser things he hath not left us without means to judge of the best reading, when any casual error shall appear. Besides, seeing no one Copy now extant can pretend to be a standard in every thing for all others, and our Adversary flies to this, (as we shewed already,) that all the revealed truth is preserved entire in some Copy or other; and seeing it is impossible to consult all Copies in the world; therefore to have as many as we can, and those of greatest antiquity, and of the best note, to consult with, is the best means that can be used to judge of the true reading, and to preserve it to posterity. Now in these Various Readings we have all the best and choicest Copies that could be got, which are tendered to every man's view; and therefore this collection must needs be of great use. Those therefore, that have used their utmost diligence in this kind for preserving the truth, are but ill requited for their pains, when their diligence in preserving it is compared to Satan's malice in corrupting it.

VIII. Let me add, that the observing of the varieties is a good means to preserve the true reading against future mistakes, when we have so many Copies at hand to consult with upon all occasions, and among them so many conspiring in the same reading in all matters of any moment; so that I may say with Lucas Brugens. *Præf. ad lectorem*: Out of these Copies, “ Si non ipsi judicium ferre, certè aliis dare, unde aut ferre possint, aut suo quemque momento varietatem æstimare—Non quasi Scriptura sacra erroribus obnoxia sit, quæ à prima veritate perfecta veritatis regula est, sed quòd in codices, sive apographa ipsa, Græca maximè et Latina, per frequentem exemplarium in exemplaria transfusionem, nunc librariorum, nunc lectorum oscitantia, incuria, inscitia, temeritate, labeculæ, errata, depravationesque irrepsérint, quæ aliorum, codicum, sive apographorum collatione, mutari, corrigi, auferri debent.” And what he saith of the Vulgar Latin, I know not but may be said of the Original Text. “ Emendatè imprimi haud posse videtur, nisi collatis variis exemplaribus menda deprehensa eliminetur, sincera lectio administretur.” For as follows, “ hæret animi dubius quid amplectatur, donec ex fontibus, aut ex antiquis aliarum linguarum editionibus, aut ex tractatorum commentariis, aut ex locorum circumstantiis, aut ex ipsa exemplarium spectata inte-

gritate, aut denique ex his simul omnibus, quod inter exemplaria ipsa discernat, adferatur." Thus far this judicious author, who in a few words answers our Author's whole volume of *Considerations* about Various Readings.

IX. The Jews themselves, as I have said, take this course in their Editions of the Hebrew Text. They compare diverse Copies, and note the differences. Manasseh Ben Israel in his late Edition (much approved by divers) tells us of four Copies, that were *omnium correctissima*, which he compared together; and, when any difference offered itself, his refuge was to the Grammar rules, and the Masora; and adds, "Correctionem adhibui quàm diligentissimè, errata tum in punctis, tum in literis, atque adedè etiam in ipsis locorum aliquorum regulis, quæ in exemplaribus hactenus editis non pauca reperi, postquam ea diligentè annotavi, fidelitè omnia emendavi." Here we see this great rabbi found not a few errors crept in, and differences in the Hebrew Copies, which he corrected and amended. He might have learned of our Author, that his labour was needless; there can be no errors in the Text; that this was presumption to correct the Word of God!

X. To conclude this, let him consult Buxtorf's Vindic. who will inform him that there are diverse Various Readings in the Hebrew Text in our pre-

sent Copies, besides the Keri and the Ketib, and the rest above mentioned, some of which have been collected by others ; and that he is so far from blaming those that collect them, that he wishes that more Copies were compared, and the Various Readings gathered, that "*a correct Copy might be made out of them all.*" Non impedio quo minus codicum Hebraicorum variae lectiones observentur, colligentur, imo etiam ex illis correctiones instituantur." Vindic. part 1. c. 4. p. 90. and p. 67. "Ex collatione exemplarium emendatum exemplar cudi potest, licet non ad extremum usque apicem, (illud enim facile concederem nec esse, nec fuisse, imo nec esse posse.)" More we have to the same purpose, Vind. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 834. "Quod (plures codices conferendo, discernendo, et dijudicando) ex Hebraeis aggredi incepit post R. Ben Chajim editorem Bibl. majorum Venetorum R. Menachem Louzano in prima parte libri שתי ידות per Pentateuchum: et optandum esset ut illius opera per ceteros quoque libros Biblicos continuasset, vel alius ei succederet." Again, Vindic. part 1. c. 12. p. 202. "Optandum esset ut quae ab eo tempore sunt ab Hebraeis ipsis variae lectiones observatae, ab aliquo colligerentur, ut Christianis etiam innotescerent, prout illarum multae extant in Bibliis majoribus Venetis et Basil. Et nuper etiam R. Menachem Louzano in parte prima libri שתי ידות collegit ex

multis et probatissimis simul et antiquissimis libris Hebraicis quascunque observare potuit in lege Varias Lectiones. Imo si alibi in Bibliothecis quoque Regum, Principum, Urbium, exemplaria Hebraica extent, facîle patior ut conferantur; et si Lectiones Varias continerent, meliores eligantur." Here we see this learned Hebrician acknowledges Various Readings among the Hebrew Copies, besides those already noted, and this without prejudice to the purity of the Text; also wishes that as many Copies as can be procured were compared, the different readings gathered, out of which the best might be chosen, and so a more correct Edition might be made than any hitherto.

XI. This which he then wished to be done by others, is since done by himself: he hath collected out of all the Copies printed or MSS. which he could procure, all the Various Readings he could find, and hath written a full volume of them; wherein he gives also his judgment of them, which are best, which he offered once to be printed in our Bibles, (and if we could have had it in time, I should willingly have inserted it.) But he is now printing an Hebrew Bible at Basil; to which this his Critica Sacra is annexed; which, if it had not been stopt by some intervening accident in the vacancy of the Empire, had been finished ere now, as appears by Letters which I lately received from him. The Title of his Book,

as it was sent over by himself, for further satisfaction of the reader, I shall set down.

**“ JOH. BUXTORFII FILII CRITICA
SACRA.**

“ Seu Notæ in universos Veteris Testamenti libros Hebraicos.

“ Quibus Variæ eorundem Lectiones, quæ vel scribarum seu typographorum, seu etiam correctorum imperitorum, et sciorum, culpa hactenus irrepserint, partim ex probatis codicibus, partim ex Masora, quæ vetus est Hebræorum Critica, ostensa in plerisque locis genuina lectione dijudicantur.

“ Opus ad novas Editiones in posterum castigatè edendas, et veteres emendendas utilissimum et necessarium à nemine Christianorum hactenus tentatum.

“ Præmittitur Dissertatio D. V. qua Criticæ hujus sacræ origo, progressus, forma, et modus, totiusque hujus operis ratio et usus, plenius explicantur.

“ Accedunt etiam Indices Variarum Lectionum inter Ben Ascher et Ben Naphtali, Orientalium et Occidentalium,” &c.

XII. To these we might add, that the Keri and Ketib are not the same in all Editions, the num-

ber differing by some hundreds : our Author saith they are the same in all Editions, only in some the number varies by mistake and oversight, p. 296. Rather himself was mistaken and overseen when he wrote this ! No man that looks upon them can imagine but that they were purposely so printed, and that according to the Copies which the publishers followed, and not by any mistake either of the printer or publisher. Some Editions have two or three hundred more than others, and can it be supposed that so many words could be added in the margin, with the Keri under them, and as many words marked in the Text, and to have the points affixed to them, which belong to the marginal word, and all this done by *casual mistake* ? *Credat Judæus Apella* ; I can hardly think that our Author himself upon deliberation will avouch it any more ! The difference according to some chief Editions I have here transcribed out of the *Prolegomena*, that the reader may judge.

<i>In Edit. Venet. Secunda.</i>	<i>In Edit. Plant.</i>	<i>In Bibliis Regiis.</i>	<i>Elias Levita.</i>
Pentat. Ker. 78. Jeth. 1.	Ker. 74. Jeth. 1. Chas. 2.	Ker. 69. Jeth. 1. Chas. 1.	Ker. 65.
Megil. Ker. 51. Jeth. 11.	Ker. 43. Jeth. 14.	Ker. 48. Jeth. 8.	
Proph. prior. Ker. 337.	Ker. 239. Jeth. 24.	Ker. 277. Jeth. 18. }	
Jeth. 11. Chas. 2.		Chas. 5.	Ker. 454.
Proph. poster. Ker.	Ker. 250. Jeth. 25.	Ker. 347. Jeth. 11. }	
348. Jeth. 2.	Chas. 1.	Ker. 242. Jeth. 20.	Ker. 229.
Hagiogr. Ker. 362.	Ker. 187. Jeth. 34.	Chas. 1.	
Jeth. 60. Chas. 1.	Chas. 1.		
Summa Totalis Ker.	Ker. 793. Jeth. 99.	Ker. 983. Jeth. 58.	Ker. 848.
1171. Jeth. 85. Chas. 3.	Chas. 9.	Chas. 7.	

XIII. I hope by this our Author will believe there are some differences in the Hebrew Copies, and yet the Copies are not corrupt. When Buxtorf's Bible comes out, whereof part is already printed, this superstitious conceit of the Hebrew Copies not varying in any thing will clearly vanish. In the mean time he may look in Cappellus's Crit. lib. 3. c. 9. where he may find diverse Various Readings collected, besides the Keri and Ketib, out of the best Editions; and that not in points only, but in letters and words, and such as are not errors of the printer, but came from the difference of Copies, divers Translations, both ancient and modern, following one reading; and divers others, another: As Prov. xxi. 4. Plant. and Steph. have גֵּר וְשָׁעִים *lucerna impiorum*; so read the LXX. Chald. and Vulgar Latin. But Bomberg. and Munst. in quarto read גֵּר for גֵּיר, and Munst. in fol. hath גֵּיר *novale*; and so the Tigurin. and Junius; the last English translates it, *plowing*, and the French, *labouring*. Hos. xiii. 6. the Venice, Steph. Munster in quarto read אָשׁוּר *speculabor*. But in Plant. it is אֲשׁוּר *Assyria*, and so the LXX. and the Vulgar Latin read it. 1 Chron. i. 6. Bomb. and Munster in fol. read רוּשֶׁת with *daleth*, so Mas. par, Kimchi and Jarchi. But Plant. Steph. and Munst. in quarto read רִישֶׁת with *resh*.

So the LXX. and Vulgar Latin. In the same chapter, ver. 7. Bomb. reads *Rodanim*, רודנים, and the lesser Masora, Kimchi, and Jarchi, say it ought so to be read. But Plant. Steph. and Munst. in fol. and quarto read רודנים with *dath*. 1 Chron. vi. 41. Plant. Bomb. and Steph. read, את ערי יהודה, but Munster fol. and quart. omits the word יהודה and so does the LXX. the Tigurin. and Castalio, and the later French Translations. Jos. xiv. 2. Steph. and Munst. fol. and quart. read ביר משדה להר, so doth the Tigur. and Castalio, but Plant. and Bomb. leave out להר and so doth the LXX. Junius, the French and English. Josh. xxii. v. ult. after רבני נר Plant. leaves a void space, and notes in the margin, that ער *testis* is to be understood and supplied, and this is followed by Castal. the late English, and the French. But Steph. Bomb. and Arias Montanus omit ער, so doth the LXX. Vulgar Latin, and the Tigurin. Those that please may see more in Cappellus, in the place above mentioned; and if they consult Buxtorf's Vindic. they may see he dislikes not the collecting of such varieties out of Hebrew Copies, nor thinks that they infer the corruption of the Hebrew Copies.

XIV. What he objects about the same Various Readings served twice over, the Keri and Ketib over and over, &c. still shews his candour

and love of truth. Could he find no reason why the Keri and Ketib were twice enumerated, but to increase the bulk, and present the more variety to a less attentive reader? Read them over and blush. They are first reckoned up according to the order of the Books and Chapters, as they stand in the Bible, as they are in other Editions, that so the reader might know what is in each Book and Chapter; yet here they are with reference to the several chief Editions of the Bible, which differ much in the number, which was not done before in any Edition. And is there nothing in the second Catalogue but a bare enumeration of the same again? Any eye, not blinded with prejudice, might have seen some other benefit arising to the reader: For whereas they are of divers sorts and natures, they are all reduced to their several heads and classes, and the number of each sort examined, and the places quoted together where they are dispersedly mentioned throughout the Bible; and withal how many, and which of each sort, are acknowledged by each Edition; and withal some judgment given of most of them. Thus for example: There are some which are *not written* in the Text, a void space being left, or only the points without the letters, which yet are to be *read* as in the margin; of which sort are thirteen which are there mentioned, and the places mentioned where

they are to be found : some again are *written* in the Text, but *not read*, which have no points affixed, of which sort are five, which are there mentioned, with the places where they are to be found. Again, some are written *conjunctim* in the Text, as if they were one word, which as the marginal Keri notes must be read *divisim*, as two words, of which sort are eleven, or, as the little Masora saith, fifteen, which are also all specified together. Some again are written *severally*, as if they were *divers words*, which are to be read *jointly* as one word, as the Keri notes, of which sort are eight. Again, some words there are which to those chaste rabbins seemed *obscene*, and therefore they put others *less offensive* in the margin to be read in their stead in the Synagogues, of which sort are ten, which are all enumerated ; with some about *servile*, some about *radical letters* ; some by *addition*, some by *detraction*, some by *transposition*, or *change of a letter* ; some about *words*, &c. Of all which sorts, how many, and in what places they are, is distinctly set down, and what difference there is about them in the chief Editions, or in the Masora, or El. Levita. Now, can our cavilling Adversary find no use of all this, but only to increase the number ? Is there not here much satisfaction to the reader to know how many there are of *each rank*, and where to be found ? If he find

no benefit, he may forbear to look upon it, and leave it to others that can ; let him find out every difference by the first Catalogue. Nor was this ordering of them the work of Cappellus alone, though he hath laboured more than any other therein. The same was done long before by Elias Lev. and in the Masora ; in many, by Schindler, and Sixtin Amama, whose observations about these things were published long before Cappellus's Critica. That which is added about Grotius, is as void of truth as the rest. Are they given a third time in Grotius's notes, where there are scarce one or two mentioned in the whole Pentateuch, though there are above seventy ? So in the 1st and 2d of Samuel, not above two mentioned among an hundred ; and so for the rest. How great a bulk do these make, how is the volume swelled by them ? Neither had these few been mentioned out of him, but that he gives his judgment of them. The like may be answered to what he saith of those of the New Testament. In the first collection they are barely named, with the Copies they relate to. In Grotius and Lucas Brugensis, their several judgments are given of so many as they took notice of. Now is it no benefit to the reader, to have the judgment of such learned men upon them, but all must be to increase the bulk ?

XV. As he finds fault with the multitude of

the Various Readings, so he questions the Copies out of which they are gathered, and the fidelity of the collectors. "The Copies few or none are of any considerable antiquity," p. 195. "any book, though but of yesterday," p. 192. "he doubts whether these readings be tolerably attested to for Various Readings or no," p. 191. "Beza hath stigmatized his own Copy sent to Cambridge, to be so corrupt in the Gospel of Saint Luke, that he durst not publish the Various Readings of it, for fear of scandal," p. 195. "Besides, in that MS. Copy of Emmanuel College, which is only of the Epistles, many Various Readings are quoted, as out of the Gospels and Acts, with Col. Emman. prefigured. And it may be supposed that this mistake goes not alone; but upon examination of particulars, they will be found not so clearly attested, &c. He doubts not, but upon search, some of these Copies will be found no better than that Hebrew MS. of the Psalms, rejected by Arias Montanus, and therefore he earnestly exhorts some of his University to examine these Various Readings, &c." Here we may observe how little our *Considerator considered what he wrote*, but that he vented *quicquid in buccam venerat*; for how could he judge of the Copies and MSS. we used, which he never collated, and may be scarce ever saw any of them? I am sure they are the

choicest, and some of them the best antiquity in England, yea, some the ancientest that are this day in the world. And I can further aver, that some Copies I laid aside, which seemed to be of no antiquity, or negligently written ; so far were we from taking up all that could be had, though but of yesterday. The greatest part of those of the New Testament were, as is said before, with great labour and charge, [B] sought out, and collated by the most reverend Usher, out of the best Libraries, public or private, in England ; and I believe, he was as able to judge of a Copy as another. What thinks our Author of the [C] Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament in Greek, preserved in the King's Library, written in Capital Letters, without accents, or distinction either of words or sentences, one of the noblest MSS. in the world ? which kind of writing hath been out of use for above a thousand years, as our best antiquarians conclude, and therefore this MS. must needs exceed that age. What of the [D] Codex Claromontanus, and of [E] that which Beza sent to Cambridge, written in the same manner ? Most of the rest are of great antiquity. Not to insist upon [F] that Greek MS. of the Chronicles, brought out of Greece by Theodorus, who was Archbishop of Canterb. above a thousand years ago, which is now in Cambridge Library ; nor of [G] that ancient remnant of Sir Robert Cotton's Greek

MS. of Genesis, esteemed by learned Usher the oldest MS. in the world; because these concern the Greek LXX. which is of no account with our Adversary. But what attestation desires he of the Copies? the most of them are in public Libraries, and may attest for themselves; he may exhort whom he will to examine the Copies and the Various Readings; if he can find them unfaithfully collected, let him publish it to the world, and not spare us. But how this will be done, unless they mean to collate all over again, I know not, and I doubt it will be found a labour, which neither he, nor any of his novices, will easily undergo.

XVI. But he instances in some Copies. Beza's *is stigmatized by himself*: but where had he this, but out of Beza's Epistle to the University, which he had not known if I had not published it? And if I had intended to deceive the reader, I might have suppressed it; whereas I have plainly declared my judgment on that Copy about the Genealogy of Christ, *Prolegom.* ix. 65. that in that point it is of no credit: yet why it might not be useful in other matters I know not; and considering the great antiquity of it, why it might not deserve to be collated amongst other Copies. Beza frequently makes use of it in his notes, and calls it, *Exemplar suum venerandæ antiquitatis*; and those that please may find it to agree with

our old Alexandrian MS. and other ancient Copies, and with the reading of divers ancient writers of the Church, where our later Copies do read otherwise ; so that the concurrence of it with those ancient Copies may confirm the reading that is found in them, and so it may be of great use. And though Beza saith, he found so great discrepancy in it from other Copies in Saint Luke, that to avoid the offence of some (weak persons) he thought fit rather to preserve it than to publish it, (which is all the *stigmatizing* here boasted of,) yet he adds, “ In hac non sententiarum, sed vocum diversitate, nihil profectò comperi, unde suspicari potuerim à veteribus illis Hæreticis fuisse depravatum. Imo multa mihi videor deprehendisse observatione digna, quædam etiam sic à recepta scriptura discrepantia, ut tamen cum veterum quorundam et Græcorum et Latinorum Patrum scriptis consentiant, quæ omnia pro ingenii mei modulo inter se comparata, et cum Syra et Arabica Editione collata, in majores meas Annotationes à me nuper emendatas, et brevi (Deo favente) prodituras congessi.” Here we see what use Beza made of this Copy, and how he *stigmatizes* it ! If he had thought so basely of it as our Author, he would never have thought it worthy to be presented to such an University, nor they to preserve it as such a rare monument of antiquity.

XVII. As for that MS. of St. Paul's Epistles in

[H] Emmanuel College, though there was another MS. in the same College of the Gospels and Acts, whose name was casually omitted in the Catalogue, yet he can never prove any falsification, or indirect dealing. Here is no obtruding of any Various Readings out of a MS. which is not. Only the name of that MS. of the Gospels and Acts was not noted among the rest, and what great matter is this? Is the reader hereby deceived or abused with any forgery or untruth? The occasion of the omission was this. Those readings of that MS. came to hand after the rest were finished, and after the Catalogue of the MSS. was drawn up, ready for the press, whereby the name of this MS. was forgotten to be inserted among the rest in the Catalogue. Our Author himself confesseth that, in a work of this variety, it were a miracle that many things should not escape the eye of the most diligent observer; yet he cannot forbear to insinuate, that there hath not been fair dealing in this collection, nor to raise suspicions, as if other things of the like nature might be found upon further search. This omission is not so great, as *his mistake* that says, that Morinus (now lately dead) was a Jesuit, a petulant Jesuit, p. 207. an aspiring Jesuit, p. 299. when any one that reads the title-page of any of his books, may see he was of the Oratorian Order, which was founded divers years after that of the

Jesuits ; or, that the Oracles of God were committed to the Jews under the Old Testament, and all the Writings of the New, as we find, Ep. p. 3. and yet no notice taken of in the Errata ; or to write, as p. 80. that the Various Readings of the Eastern and Western Jews appeared first in the Edition of the Bible by Bombergus, under the care of Felix Pratensis, gathered by R. Jacob Ben-Chajim, who corrected that impression ; which is, as if one should say, that the Various Readings of the New Testament appeared first in Erasmus's Edition of the New Testament, gathered by Stephanus, who corrected that impression ! Here are many mistakes, which shew that he never looked into any Edition of the Venice Bible ; for Felix Pratensis, and Ben-Chajim never joined in one Edition of the Bible ; one was by Felix Pratensis, another by Ben-Chajim : nor are those Various Readings gathered by Ben-Chajim, but were first published by Felix Pratensis, as he might have read in *Prolegom.* iv. sect. 14. or if he will not believe me, let him read Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, p. 228, &c. and believe his own eyes. I could instance in more of this kind, if I thought it needful, nor should I have mentioned these, if he had not given me this occasion.

XVIII. He objects, that in these Various Readings, "There is no choice made, no judgment

used in discerning true from spurious, but all differences whatsoever, that could be found in any Copies, printed, or written, are equally given out; that the first observation in Lucas Brugensis, printed next to this Collection, rejects one of these varieties as a corruption," &c. I answer, 1. That is altogether untrue: for many differences in these Copies were left out, because they appeared plainly to be errors of the transcriber; and this I can certainly affirm; and therefore all differences of Copies are not here noted: Secondly, yet I deny not but that there may be divers remaining, which may come into that number, which I thought fit rather to leave to the reader's judgment, than to leave out every thing which seemed so to me; for that may seem to be a mistake of the scribe to one, which happily may be thought none in another's judgment; as appears in that which he saith is noted by Lucas Brugensis for a corruption, which yet he knows Robertus Stephanus reckoned among Various Readings; and Beza thought so well of it, that he preferred it before the common reading: nor doth Lucas Brugensis reject it as a corruption, but taxes Beza for preferring this reading upon the authority of one Copy before the common reading; but it seems, if one reading have more reason for it than another, the other must presently be a corruption in our Adversary's Logick, and yet it appears, that

there are more Copies than one which attest this reading ; we have four more which concur in it, as appears in our collection, and I doubt it would trouble him to answer Beza's reasons for that reading. Thirdly, it is declared more than once in the *Prolegomena*, that every difference of a Copy is not properly a Various Reading. Vide *Prolegom.* vi. sect. 8. *Scribarum errores, de quibus certò constat, inter Varias Lectiones nequaquam referendi* ; and therefore, (though the major part give the denomination to the whole, and all differences in a general sense may be called Various Readings,) if any who have leisure and abilities, shall survey them, and shall plainly prove, that some of them are errors of the transcriber, it shall be no offence at all to me, so it be not done *animo calumniandi*, without magisterial imposing their conceits upon others, and so that they leave to others the like liberty which they assume to themselves. Neither was it incumbent on us, (as our Author cannot but confess, and therefore answers himself,) to give our judgment upon every reading, which is the best ; we had work enough besides : and therefore those that have so much leisure to cavil and quarrel at every thing, may do well to exercise their critical faculty herein ; only I wish they may have better success than our Author hath in that specimen of his critical abilities about *καλύπτει*, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. p. 19,

20, &c. and that they would not be too forward in determining such to be corruptions, which, it may be, wiser and learned men judge otherwise of. Fourthly, to give the several readings of ancient Copies of note, without passing any judgment of each, is no new thing. In what Edition of the Hebrew Bibles doth he find any judgment upon the Keri and Ketib in particular, and those other Hebrew varieties? or where doth he find any thing to this purpose, save what is done by Cappellus in his *Critica*, or by Buxtorf in his Bible now printing? Arias Montanus brings divers readings of the Greek, Chaldee, and Syriac, which are barely recited; so doth Stephanus in those which he gathered out of his sixteen Copies. Junius (who is thought to be the author of the Frankf. Edition of the Sept.) notes divers readings out of several Copies, but seldom gives any judgment of them. And if here the publisher had only selected some choice ones, as seemed good to himself, he had not left all to the reader's judgment, but subjected all to his own.

XIX. But our Author might have observed, that the design of the Edition was not only to exhibit to the reader all the ancient and chief Translations, together with the Originals, but also the chief Copies, MS. or others, of both, that so in this Edition the reader might have all or most other Editions, and the best MSS. which

he might consult at pleasure. The particular MSS. belonging to several libraries, either in the Universities or Colleges, or of private persons, who were great gatherers of monuments of antiquity, have been justly accounted great treasures. Who would not set a high esteem upon those Copies and MSS. here collated, if he had them all in his own keeping? Now care is taken that every private man may have them, and use them as his own. This pains I see was ill bestowed upon such as make so ill use of it, as to throw the Copies like dirt in our faces, and thereby take occasion to calumniate our labours. Besides, though some of these differences seem small, yet they may be of more use hereafter than appears at present, upon the rising of new Errors and Heresies; which I confess was one reason, why the fewer were left out, because we could not know, nor foresee, what use might be made of them hereafter, though they seem less useful at present: and therefore it was resolved to give them as they are; which, considering the many cautions and rules about them, [1] *Prolegom. vi. De Variis Lectionibus*, to stop the mouth of calumny, and prevent all just cause of offence, I conceived might be justly done.

CHAPTER VIII.

I. *The consequences inferred by the Adversary from the Various Readings, on the behalf of Atheists, Papists, Fanatical Persons, Mahometans.* **II.** *He proves none of them.* **III.** *The inconsequence shewed.* **IV.** *The words of Sixtin Amama.* **V.** *Of Bochartus, Lud. De Dieu, &c.* **VI.** *Erasmus: The same words used by the Friars against him, which this Adversary uses against the Biblia Polyglotta.* **VII.** *No error or mistake is capable of cure by his rules. The words for themselves.* **VIII.** *The Adversary's argument retorted upon himself. He pleads for Papists, Atheists, &c. grants, yea, urges, both the premises; only denies the conclusion.* **IX.** *That he is guilty of what he accuses others.* **X.** *Various Readings give no advantage to Papists, Atheists, Antiscripturists, or Mahometans, as is shewn in particular.*

I. **HAVING** gone over these particulars about Various Readings, I might forbear to say any thing more of that subject, of which enough is said to satisfy any rational reader; but because our Adversary doth frequently, from what is said by us, and confessed by himself, labour to infer certain false and pernicious consequences against the certainty and supreme authority of Scripture, on the behalf of Atheists, Papists, Fanatics, Antiscripturists, and Mahometans, we shall briefly consider the force of those consequences, whether

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they do justly follow from any principle by us acknowledged in the *Prolegomena*, or *Appendix*. Our Author sometimes seems not to be resolved of the truth of his consequence. P. 147, he saith, "these Various Lections do, at the first view, seem to intimate that the Originals are corrupt;" p. 159. "they seem sufficient to beget scruples, &c." p. 156. "these *Prolegomena* seem to impair the truth, &c." p. 147. "men of perverse minds may possibly wrest these things." Nay, p. 206, he saith, "that the Prefacer doth not own those wretched consequences." Now, if they do but *seem* sufficient, and if they be *wrested* by men of *perverse minds*, then those consequences do not necessarily follow: *no genuine consequence can be said to be wrested, nor will he, I hope, join with men of perverse minds.* And if the Author of the *Prolegomena* do not own them, then they ought not to be objected against him, without sufficient proof of the consequences, which these *Considerations* do no where afford. But in other places he speaks more positively: p. 205, "They are all directed," or "by just consequence owned in the *Prolegomena*;" p. 206, "that no sufficient security against the lawful deriving of them is tendered;" p. 161, "that they are an engine fitted for the destruction of that important truth by him pleaded for, and as a fit weapon

put into the hands of atheistical men, to oppose the whole evidence of truth revealed in the Scripture, &c.;" p. 207, "Great and wise men," (*of which himself is one without doubt,*) "do suppose them naturally, and necessarily, to flow from them." And, therefore, p. 147, he *absolutely* affirms, "They are, in brief, the foundation of Mahometanism, the chiefest and principal prop of Popery, the only pretence of fanatic Antiscripturists, and the root of much hidden Atheism in the world."

II. Now we know the rule is, *Affirmanti incumbit probatio*, and therefore our Adversary ought to prove and make good his consequences, or else he must be accounted a false accuser. Yet here we do not find that he offers any thing in this kind, to prove that they do follow from any principles in the *Prolegomena*; but as he substitutes what he pleases, instead of his Adversary's tenets; so he infers at random any thing that came into his mind, whereby to make them odious to vulgar readers. The injustice of his charge may sufficiently appear by what is already said, and therefore I shall only recapitulate the sum of what is formerly proved, reinforcing some particulars; and then shew, that the charge may reflect upon himself, as being deeply guilty, by his own confession, of what he would impute unto another.

III. That no such inference can be made against the certainty, integrity, and supreme authority of Scripture, from any thing affirmed in the *Prolegomena*, may appear, because, as is at large shewed, *The Prolegomena do not affirm the Original Texts to be corrupt, but to be pure and authentic, of supreme authority, the rule of faith and life, and of all Translations. The Various Readings of the Original Texts do not infer the corrupting of the Text, but may well stand with the purity and authority thereof. That our Author affirms the same with the Prolegomena, about Various Readings, which he frequently confesseth to be both in the Old Testament and the New. And as for those Various Readings out of Translations which he would not allow, they are of the same nature with those which he allows out of the original Copies : for the Prolegomena say they are in matters of no moment, contain nothing repugnant to the analogy of faith, and such are by himself allowed in the Hebrew and Greek. That the most learned Protestant divines, and best skilled in the Oriental Tongues, and most zealous defenders of the Original Texts, have said the same with the Prolegomena, and in some things more ; such as Luther, Calvin, Besa, Mercer, Brentius, Oecolampadius, Pellican, Scaliger, De Dieu, Sixtin Amama, Archbishop Usher, and*

in a manner, all others, who would never be so inconsiderate, as to affirm and deny the same thing, or to give back to their adversaries with one hand, what they have taken from them with the other. And though I have both in *Proleg.* vi. sect. 2. and in this answer cited divers of their words, yet I shall here add something more, with their reasons against the consequences here objected, and those of such men whom he cannot in the least suspect of inclining to Rome.

IV. Sixtin Amama, late Hebrew Professor at Franeker, one whom our Author in his *Epist.* p. 9, joins with Whitaker, Reynolds, Junius, Chamier, Amesius, and others, "that have stopt the mouths of Romanists speaking against the Original Texts, and quenched the fire which they would put to the house of God," as he expresses it; this man, in that excellent book called *Antibarbarismus Biblicus*, which is wholly in defence of the Hebrew Text, writes thus, lib. 1, "Hand negare ausim, et injuria temporum, et descriptorum incuria, errata quædam et sphalmata in Textum Hebraicum irrepsisse. Hoc autem dum admittimus, authoritati Textus Hebraici nihil detrahimus; manet nihilominus Textus authenticus, et omnium versionum norma." Afterwards he adds, "ex omnibus variantibus lectionibus proferatur una, unde vel orthodoxæ

fidei, vel pietati, ullum detrimentum inferri possit? Certè his talibus nullam intervenisse Judæorum malitiam non tantùm hinc apparet quòd nullum ex illis Judaicæ perfidiæ patrociniū exsculpi possit, sed et ex eo quòd fontes variarum lectionum assignari possunt, inter quos primarii sunt, affinitas soni vel affinitas figuræ consonantis, vel indifferentia sensus, &c. Quin et illud consideratione dignum in istis infirmitatis humanæ erratis et *παρορμήσει* non dormitasse vigilem providentiæ divinæ oculum, dum cavit diligentissimè ne vel minima orthodoxæ fidei particula, vel pietas, ex eorum usu detrimentum capiat."

V. To him let us add Bochartus, Minister at Caen, in France, a man no less eminent for his various learning, than for his zeal and piety, in that admirable Work of his, his *Geographia Sacra*, Part I. l. ii. c. 13, part of whose words I have formerly cited, who writes thus; "*Licet eandem scribis non tribuam ἀνάμνησιν quam scriptoribus sacris, non tamen inde sequitur, quòd nonnulli subindè oggerunt, actum esse de fide et salutis doctrina, et in ea nihil esse certi: Quis enim ferat in aliis sic arguentem? In Livii et Suetonii scriptis quidam errores irrepserunt: ergo in Historia Romana nihil est certi; et in iis quæ de Hannibale, aut Julio, aut Augusto leguntur, nutat fides! Aristotelis Græci codices alicubi sunt mendosi: ergo quid ille scripserit de rebus Phi-*

losophicis certò scire haud possumus ! Quamvis exemplum sit valdè dispar ! Nam multò aliter invigilavit Dei Providentia ut Sacræ Scripturæ codices præstaret immunes, saltem in iis quæ ad fidem et salutem sunt absolutè necessaria : unde est, quòd ut ut Hebræi et Græci codices variant in minutulis, et Sacri Textus interpretes sæpè in diversa abeunt, tamen in fidei capitibus, et τὸ ῥῆμα τοῖς βασιτέοις, eadem ubique doctrina occur- rat, non jam dicam in ἀποργράφοις, sed et in ver- sionibus corruptissimis." What could be more fully said to shew the vanity of our Author's con- sequence ? The same we may read in Lud. de Dieu, a man of great learning, especially in the Oriental tongues, as his works proclaim, Præf. in Animadvers. in Evangel. "Nec est quod quenquam tarbet ea codicum lectionumque varie- tas, quasi nihil certi haberet fides Christiana cui inniteretur ; nihil enim deprehendo quod fidei sub- stantiam læderet—Tantum abest ut Erasmus, Camerarium, Bezam, viros pietate et eruditione conspicuos, culpæ audeam, quod in suis ad sa- cros libros notis varias lectiones observarint, ut contra eos utilem operam navasse credam." Here we see the same arguments which our Adversary brings about the uncertainty of Scripture pro- pounded, and the same answer given which we have given already. They shew the inconse- quence of his argument, and acknowledge the

great usefulness of gathering Various Readings ; and further (which is to be observed) they do not only allow of Various Readings out of the Original Texts, but also out of Translations, which they often practise themselves, and sometimes prefer before the common reading, as we have shewed, *Proleg.* vi. sect. 9.

VI. I will mention one more, Erasmus, whom our Author names as the first and chiefest that laboured in this kind, p. 189, and Epist. p. 21, whose pains likewise he tells us were calumniated by some in his time. He wrote indeed a whole volume of Apologies for his several Works, and in this particular he was railed upon most by ignorant Friars, who used the same words, which are now taken up by this Author against us, for the same thing. He compared divers Copies of the New Testament, to make his Edition the more perfect, and several Translations and expositions of the ancients ; whereupon as appears, Epist. ad Henr. Bovillum, they cried out, “ quasi protinus actum esset de Religione Christiana—vociferantur, ὡς σχιζιάζουσιν, O cœlum, O terra, corrigit hic Evangelium !” So here they bring in *utter uncertainty* about all sacred truth, Epist. p. 25 ; they *correct the Scripture*, p. 344 ; *correct the Word of God*, p. 180. And Annot. I, in Leum, in answer to Lee, objecting the same thing, he saith, “ Ostendat nobis suo digito

Leus, quæ sit illa lectio quam dictavit Sp. S. et, hanc unam amplexi, quicquid ab hac variat rejiciemus. Quod si ille non potest; ex collatione linguarum et exemplarium, ex lectione, ex Translationibus celebrium auctorum, nobiscum scrutetur quæ lectio sit maxime probabilis."

VII. If our Adversary's rule had been received, that no errors can befall the Text, either by malice, or negligence, there had never been any correct Edition made by any: and if it had been thought unlawful, in any case, to question the common reading, men might have spared their labour, who from time to time, by comparing Copies and other helps above mentioned, have endeavoured to make exact Editions, both of the Hebrew and Greek, which we see yet was at several times practised both by Jews and Christians; Ben Ascher, Ben Naphtali, R. Hillel, Ben Chajim, Manass. Ben Israel, Buxtorf, Arias Montanus, Erasmus, Stephens, Beza, and others, who altered and amended what they found by mistake had crept into the common or vulgar Copies; and whose labours, either by explicit or tacit consent of the Church, receiving them without gainsaying, have been approved and commended. Whereas if nothing must be amended, as nothing must upon our Adversary's supposal, all errors that shall happen are incapable of cure, because we must suppose there can be none, and

so considering that errors will now and then happen (notwithstanding all possible diligence) as all men, even himself, do grant, a plain way is opened to the utter corruption and depravation of the whole Scripture ; and so the case will be the same with the Roman Church, or the Pope, to whom the Jesuits affix infallibility, whereby all the errors are become incurable, though never so palpable, because it must be supposed they are subject to none. I conclude this with that speech of Heinsius, a great defender of the original Texts, *Proleg. in Nov. Test.* “*Serio responso haud digni sunt, qui aut variasse olim in quibusdam libros, aut ex iis minus emendatos cum cura restitutos, negant.*” And after ; “*Satis sit ejusmodi varietates eas esse, ut vel quæ necessario credenda sunt non evertant, vel quæ non credenda sunt non doceant.*”

VIII. But now as I have cleared the *Proleg.* and *Appendix* from these consequences of the Adversary, so his argument, like a piece of ordnance overcharged, recoils with full strength upon himself ; nor can all the sophistry in the world free him from the guilt which he charges upon us. For he not only grants the same proposition which we do, concerning Various Readings, but also grants, yea urges, the consequence which Papists, Atheists, &c. would infer thence, and which not we only, but all sober men utterly

deny, only he denies the conclusion. For thus the argument runs, if it be reduced into syllogistical form. *If there be Various Readings in the Original Texts of Scripture, then the Scripture is uncertain, corrupt, and doubtful, and so cannot be of supreme authority, whereby way is made for Popery, Atheism, &c. But there are Various Readings in the Original Texts of Scripture: Ergo, the Scripture is uncertain and corrupt, &c.* This conclusion we both deny, as false and impious; and therefore one or both the propositions, from which it is inferred, must needs be false. The *minor* is granted by the Author of the *Prolegomena*, as it is also by the Author of the *Considerations* in the places alleged, and by all men that will believe their eyes. But the *major*, or the consequence, is denied by the *Prolegomena*, and by all that have not joined hands with Papists, Atheists, &c. who do utterly deny that any such inference can be made from the Various Readings, but that the authority and certainty of the Scripture is still the same, which the Author of the *Prolegomena* not only affirms, but proves and gives reasons for it; and upon this he lays the weight of the cause, which neither our Adversary, nor all the Atheists, Papists, or Antiscripturists in the world are able to overthrow. On the other side our Author not only grants the *minor*, because it is evident to sense,

but grants the *major* too, yea, he urges the consequence all along in these *Considerations*, with much earnestness and vehemency, (which all sober Christians abhor and deny.) Now let all men judge, who is guilty of this wretched conclusion, he that grants the *proposition*, which is so evident that none can deny it, but denies the *consequence*, and gives reasons against it, or he that grants both *major* and *minor*, and denies only the *conclusion*.

IX. If it shall be said, that the *Considerations* do sometimes deny, that Various Readings infer the uncertainty and corruptions of the Scripture; I answer, it is true, that sometimes he seems to deny any such inference. But when he is in hot prosecution of his Adversary, he affirms the clean contrary, as appears by his whole second Chapter of the *Considerations*, and chap. 7. sect. 6. where he denies any difference in Copies, either wilfully or by negligence. And the third Chapter of his *Considerations* is wholly spent against the Various Readings of the New Testament, which are only out of Greek MSS. and tells us, p. 193. "that they create a temptation, that there is nothing sound and entire in the Word of God," p. 206. "that the consequences are lawfully derived," p. 207 "that they do naturally and necessarily flow;" so p. 147. 161, &c. All along throughout his Discourse, he infers from the

Various Readings in the *Appendix of the Bible*, (which are all out of the Original Texts, not any gathered out of Translations,) that thereby is introduced utter uncertainty about all sacred truth ; so that nothing is more clear than that he makes the consequence of the uncertainty and corruption of the Scripture, to be the necessary product of Various Readings, and therefore that he hath plainly prevaricated, and betrayed the cause which he seemed to contend for ; and his friends, as he makes them, Papists, Atheists, and fanatic persons, have cause to thank him for disputing so doughtily on their behalf. And so I conclude with that of Seneca, Controv. 3. l. 4. "*Malo est in loco, qui habet rei fortunam, accusatoris invidiam :*" *He is in an ill case, who accuses another of what himself is guilty :* for guilt, as one observes, though it be the effect of some error, yet usually it begets a kind of moderation in men, so as not to be violent in accusing others of that which may reflect upon themselves ; but here we see it otherwise ; and from what root it proceeds, I leave to every man's judgment.

X. Having shewed the no consequence of the uncertainty and corruption of the Scripture from Various Readings, I shall not need to stand long upon the particulars of Popery, Atheism, fanatical Antiscripturism, and Mahometanism, mentioned by him, p. 147. For "Popery he fears

the pretended infallible guide, &c. will be found to lie at the door" of the Considerations, p. 161. and p. 202. He doubts not but to hear "news from Rome concerning these varieties, there having been no such collections as yet made, in the world. Enough they are to fright poor unstable souls, into the arms of an infallible Judge." And p. 207. "We went from Rome under conduct of the purity of the Originals; I wish none have a mind to return thither again, under pretence of their corruption." How these Various Readings should be any prop, much less the principal pillar of Popery, I cannot see, nor doth our Author prove. His meaning it may be is, that Papists do hence infer the Scripture to be uncertain, and the Original Texts to be corrupt, so that they can be no sure ground of faith, and therefore that all must fly to an infallible Judge, and rely upon the Vulgar Latin. But these grounds we have already taken away, and proved, that notwithstanding such Various Readings, the Scriptures are still the certain rule of faith, and the Original Texts the authentic rule of all Translations: Vid. *Proleg.* vii. Besides, let our Author shew that any of the Various Readings, by us collected, contain any thing against either faith or good life, or make for the Romanists in any of the Controversies between them and us; let him instance in any if he can. In that place of 1 John v. 7. are some words

left out in many ancient Copies, but there is nothing contrary to the analogy of faith inserted. That point of the Trinity hath ground enough besides in Scripture, though these words had not been in any copy; and whether they were rased out of some Copies by the Arians, as some of the ancients suppose, or whether left out by casual error of the transcriber in some one Copy from which many others were derived, and that error made use of by the Arians, yet here is nothing against faith affirmed in this place, only an omission of some words in some Copies. Besides how can it be imagined that these Various Readings should make way for Popery, when the first and chief collectors of them were the chief opposers of Popery? as this Author affirms, p. 189. where he reckons up Stephanus, Beza, Camerarius, Drusius, Heinsius, Grotius, de Dieu, Capellus.

XI. If it be said, that Papists make use of these Various Lectons to decry the Originals, and to set up the Vulgar Latin, or from their uncertainty to infer the necessity of an infallible Judge; 1. it is true there be some that do so, but there are some, and those of the most learned among them, who are stout defenders of the purity of the Original Texts, and prefer them before the Vulgar Latin, as Simeon de Muis, Joh. D'Espieres, and others; and many among them

who maintain that the Council of Trent, in declaring the Vulgar Latin to be authentic, did no way derogate from the Hebrew and Greek Text, but only preferred the Vulgar Latin before all other Latin Translations, and meant only, that it contained nothing contrary to faith and good manners, as Salmer. Serrar. Mariana, Azor, Driedo, Vega, and divers others. 2. Doth our Adversary think that the Papists can justly deduce any such conclusions from the Various Readings? If he think so, then he pleads their cause, and joins hands with them against the Original Texts; if no, Why doth he urge their deductions against us? 3. Though some men pervert and abuse the truth to bad ends, must the truth therefore be denied, because a bad use is made of it? There never wanted those who perverted the Scripture to their own destruction; but is the Scripture the worse, or must not the lawful use of it be permitted? All truth is from God, the Author of truth, he needs not men's policies to defend it, much less can it be upheld by untruths. Those pious frauds, when discovered, have proved prejudicial to the truth for which they were devised.

XII. He confesseth, p. 206. "That the Prefacer doth not own these wretched consequences, but he knows full well who think them to be just." It is true, he knows some Romanists and others think so, and it seems our Author thinks

so too. But this Author knows also, that the Prefacer hath clearly proved, both against the Papist and himself, that the consequence is false and invalid, and that neither of them have just cause to think so; and therefore, that this ought not to be by him objected. It had been a more Christian practice for him to shew the inconsequence of such conclusions from such premises as are confessed by himself, than to play fast and loose, or to calumniate them, who granting what cannot be denied, do not by himself, do yet uphold the authority of the Scripture, and labour to prove that no such things do follow as are by such men surmised.

XIII. His uncharitable intimation, as if the design of the publisher of the Various Readings were to return to Rome again, to an infallible Judge, reflects upon the chief defenders of the Protestant profession against the errors of Rome; and the supposition is as true as the position, in that flower of his discourse, (twice repeated, p. 161. and 282. (*Hoc Ithacus velit,*) if the rest of the verse (*et magno mercentur Atridae*) be added to it. It is well known, that the Author of the *Prolegomena*, when he kept his Act *pro Gradu*, at Cambridge, about twenty years ago, maintained this Question: *Pontifex Romanus non est judex infallibilis in controversiis fidei*: And he professeth himself to be still of the same judg-

ment, and to be rather more confirmed in that persuasion, than any way doubtful of it. And what news can we expect from Rome concerning these Various Readings, when the same thing is not new with them, as appears by the notes of Lucas Brugensis, Nobilius, and others, which far exceed in bulk any thing that we have done, and wherein more MSS. were used? which labours of theirs have ever been of high esteem among the learnedest Protestants, as well as those of their own party. And how can they justly object these Various Readings against us, when far more have been observed by themselves in the Vulgar Latin, which yet they will not have to derogate from its supreme authority?

XIV. For his Atheists, I wish he had considered better his own doctrine, p. 88, 104, 108. 110, &c. whether the taking away of one *chief* argument to demonstrate the Divine Original of Scripture, against Atheists and Unbelievers, viz. "the miracles wrought for confirmation of the doctrine, brought down and witnessed to us by the universal tradition of the Church of Christ, and the affirming that we have no more reason to believe there were any such miracles upon the tradition of the Church of Christ, than we have to believe those who deny they have any such tradition, (that is, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans;) and that the Alcoran may, upon this ground,

vie with the Christian Church ;"—Whether the affirming these things gives not more advantage to Atheists, than to affirm that there are Various Readings in Scripture, in matters that do not concern faith or salvation, nor in any thing of weight, by the casual mistakes of transcribers ; This I am sure gives no advantage in the least : and if Atheists will pervert and abuse the truth upon such principles, why will our Author, (who would not be reckoned amongst them,) put them in mind of such advantages, and not rather leave the urging of them to Hobbes and his fellows ? Let him remember what Sixt. Amama hath written against this, *Antibar. lib. i.* which I know he hath read, *Prolegom. vi. sect. 5.* " Qui ne minimas à Textu Originario variationes dari posse defendunt, in laqueos et nodos inexplicabiles se involvant, simulque impiis et profanis hominibus (quorum hæc ætas feracissima.) se ridendos præbent, qui faciliè observent in libris Regum et Chronicorum, et alibi quædam ἀντιγραφῶν, ut in 2 Reg. xxii. 8. collato cum 2 Chron. xxii. 3. de ætate Abazie filii Joram, unde colligunt nullam esse in sacris literis certitudine, nec iisdem fidem adhibendam : Quibus faciliè os obstruitur, cum hæc ex variante codicum lectione, non ex ipso textu ἀντιγραφῶν oriri dicimus, unde consequentia illa nullum habet rebur."

XV. The like may be said for his fanatic

Antiscripturists. The certainty and divine authority of Scripture hath been made good notwithstanding such Various Readings, and therefore no just ground can be hence gathered of rejecting the Scriptures. He tells us of a Treatise written by somebody, who upon such principles rejects the whole Scriptures as useless. I can say nothing of the book which I have not seen, nor known upon what principle it proceeds. If our Author think his Arguments to be good, let him produce them, and I doubt not but they will be quickly answered. In the mean time he may please to consider, whether he that rejects all other proofs for the Divine Original of Scripture, and relies only upon its own light and self-evidence, which is denied in this case to be sufficient by many learned Protestants, do not give greater occasion to those, who brag of their *new lights*, and daily increase amongst us, to reject all Scripture as useless, than he that allows such Various Readings in the Scripture as we have declared; and whether the levelling of all discipline and order of government in the Church, and leaving every man to follow his own fancy, against both Old and New Testament, which tell us, *That they should seek the Law at the Priest's mouth, and that they who will not hear the Church, are to be accounted as Publicans and Heathens*, have not made way to those An-

transcripturists, Familists, and other Sectaries, which swarm among us, and like the locusts that came out of the bottomless pit, have overspread the land, and darkened the sun !

XVI. Lastly, for Mahometanism : It is true, Mahomet accuseth the Jews of corrupting the Old Testament, and the Christians for corrupting the New, and saith, that he was sent of God to reform all, *Surat*, iv. 5. 11. And some of his followers pretend that there was something altered in John xiv. about the *Comforter* which Christ promised to send, as if there had been something in that place foretold of Mahomet, which the Christians have rased out and corrupted. But doth our Author believe that any Various Readings gathered out of any MSS. or printed Copies, or ancient Translations, do intimate any such thing of Mahomet, or favour any part of his impious doctrine ? I am sorry to see any man so transported, as to urge such things, which must reflect upon the most eminent divines and chief lights of the Church, in this or former ages, yea, upon himself in a high measure, who affirms the same about Various Readings which those do, against whom he makes this inference.

CHAPTER IX.

- I. *The occasion pretended of this invective against the Translations of the Biblia Polyglotta.* II. *His mistakes about the Arabic. The Publisher of the Arabic, the same with the Publisher of the Biblia Polyglotta.* III. IV. *The Adversary misreports Mr. Pocock's Preface. His contradictions.* V. VI. *The Syriac vindicated from his aspersions. The antiquity of it proved.* VII. *His carping at the Cambridge Copy.* VIII. *The Samaritan Pentateuch vindicated.* IX. X. XI. *His Paradoxes about the Samaritan Pentateuch.* XII. *Set forms of Liturgy proved from the Jews after Esdras's time, and from the Samaritans in imitation of them.* XIII. *The Chaldee Paraphrase defended. Of Buxtorf's Babylonia.* XIV. *Of the Vulgar Latin.* XV. *The Septuagint defended: the other Translations not taken from it, save part of the Arabic.* XVI. *Of the Original Copy of the Septuagint.* XVII. *Of the Ethiopic and Persian.* XVIII. *The true reason why the Adversary is so offended with these ancient Translations, they testify for Liturgy, observation of Festivals, &c.*

I. BEFORE we leave this charge about Various Readings, I must say something of the Translations exhibited in the *Biblia Polyglotta*; against which our Author spends his last chapter, upon pretence, that we assign them another use than he allows, viz. *That they are the rules by which the Original is to be corrected*; for upon this

he takes occasion to inveigh against them all, to shew how unfit they are for this end, and further, how unuseful for any other end. Now, though I might well pass over all that is said upon this supposition, as not concerned therein, having already declared for what use these Translations are here printed; and that though we allow Various Readings to be gathered out of them in some cases, and with some limitations, as is above declared, yet we neither make them equal with, much less prefer them above, the Originals, but make them subservient to them; yet, because under colour of this he defames and asperses all the Translations as of no use, nor deserving any esteem, I shall take a brief view of the most material passages in this invective, referring the reader for full satisfaction to the *Prolegomena*, where the use, antiquity, and authority of every Translation, and all the questions about any of them, are at large handled.

II. He prefaces his invective with an acknowledgment of the usefulness of them in some cases, and p. 206, calls the work, *a noble collection of Translations*: but this is, as I said before, only as a shoeing-horn to draw on the better this aspersion which he casts upon them afterwards, and therefore I account his commendation to be only, as I observed before out of St. Jerom, *honorifica contumelia*, an *honourable reproach*.

First, he begins with the [K] Arabic, for the honour he bears to the renownedly learned publisher of it, as he affirms, (meaning Master Pocock,) or rather indeed, because he thought he might have more colourable pretence to vilify this Translation than some of the other, otherwise he should rather have passed it over, or said least of it, if he had so *honoured the publisher*. But here he shews how apt he is to mistake or to derogate what he can from the publisher, when he makes that learned man the publisher of the Arabic. I shall not detract from his deserved praise, whom I do esteem as my much honoured friend ; but I am sure he will not thank him for making use of any thing by him said or written, against this or any other of the Translations, nor assume to himself what our Author gives him, to be the publisher of the Arabic Translation, or any other in this Edition ; for upon the request of the publisher, he collated the Pentateuch, not the whole Translation, with two Copies of Saadiah's Translation, (which he takes to be the same with that in the Parisian, and in this Edition,) the one a MS. the other printed in the Constantinopolitan Bibles ; and noted the differences of them, which he sent to the publisher ; which after they were reviewed, and collated over again for a great part, with the printed Copy of Saadiah, which I had out of Mr. Selden's Library, (for many things

were mistaken by some whom he employed in part of the collation, which himself, being otherwise employed, had not leisure to review, and therefore desired me that they might be re-examined,) I caused to be printed and published with the rest. And upon the like request of the publisher, that he would make some brief Preface to those Arabic Various Readings or differences of these Copies, he sent him that which is now prefixed to them, in which, though the publisher did not concur with him that this Pentateuch is the same with that of Saadiah, wherein divers others of great learning and judgment did concur with the publisher; nor did his reasons seem cogent, considering them on the one side, and what was brought by D. Hottinger, now Hebrew Professor at Heidelberg, on the other side, in his *Analecta*, which are further urged in his *Smegma Orientale*, with other reasons which offered themselves; and although the publisher had formerly inclined to Mr. Pocock's opinion, swayed by his authority, which he always did, and doth still, very much esteem; and did foresee, and so declared, what use might be made of his words by some persons disaffected to the work, to the defaming of the whole, as I now find by experience: yet seeing it was only his particular judgment, and every man had liberty to judge of his reasons as he saw cause, (some things also

being mollified and altered upon the publisher's Letters, from the first draught,) he chose rather to publish it as it is, than to take upon him to determine any thing in it, having also said something of this point, *Prolegom.* xiv. which the reader may consult, if he please.

III. I shall not therefore go about to discuss or determine that Question, whether it be the same which Saadias the Jew translated out of Hebrew into Arabic, yet in Hebrew characters, (though it seems scarcely credible, that those Christian Churches in the East should use a Translation made by a Jew in their public assemblies;) yet I cannot but observe how our Adversary doth misreport and wrong the learned Author of that Preface, in reciting his words and opinions, whom yet he seems to magnify, and therefore it is the less to be wondered that he deals so with others, whom he labours what he can to vilify: for he makes him to write things neither true, nor agreeing to common sense, but untrue, and contradictory to themselves: For, p. 322, he saith, "That he," (viz. Mr. Pocock,) "tells us, this Translation is a Cento made up of many ill-suited pieces, there being no Translation in that language extant of the Old Testament;" which is a plain contradiction; for if there be no Translation in the Arabic extant, how came this to be extant, and why doth he call it an Arabic

Translation, if there be none in that language ? and why doth he speak, p. 324, " of other Arabic Translations," if there be none at all ? Mr. Pocock indeed saith, That it is not all made by one Author, nor all immediately out of the Hebrew, but some out of the Hebrew, some out of the Syriac, and part out of the LXX. but he was not so devoid of common sense, as to say there was none at all. I looked among the Errata, but could not find any error noted there : nor can he say, that there is no other Translation in the Arabic but this, and that this was his meaning, for himself tells us of divers other Translations : and he could not but see in the *Prolegom.* xiv. mention made of divers Translations made by Christians since they were in subjection to the Mahometans, who propagated the Arabic tongue where they came, as that by the Bishop of Seville, in Spain, in 700, and two other famous ones, the Alexandrian or Egyptian, which Gab. Sionita published in the Paris Bible, and the Antiochian, used in that Patriarchate, as was shewed out of the Psalter Nebiense, and others, of both which MSS. Copies are remaining in the Vatican, as Cornelius à Lapide informs us, who made use of both. All that Mr. Pocock saith out of Abulfeda, is only, that there was no Arabic Version out of the Hebrew before his time in Arabic letters, not denying but that there were

Arabic Translations out of the LXX. and the Syriac long before, and that there might be also some out of the Hebrew into Arabic, but not in Arabic characters. Again he makes Mr. Pocock say, that the ancientest part of that Translation was made about the year 950, which he doth nowhere affirm, but only saith that the Pentateuch, which he ascribes to Saadiah, was about that time, which is not denied, if it be his; but when any of the other parts were translated, he saith nothing.

IV. Further, he makes him say, "That this Translation of Saadiah was interpreted, and changed in sundry things," &c. which he nowhere saith. He saith, that it was transcribed out of Hebrew characters, as we see in the Constantinopol. Pentateuch (which the Jews used in their Translations) into Arabic, by one who might change some words. But what is this to a translation or interpretation? Was the Pentateuch translated into Arabic, when the Hebrew letter was changed into Arabic? Besides he nowhere makes the interpreter to have been a Mahometan, or Samaritan, as this Author misreports him, but to be R. Saadiah a Jew; but that he who transcribed, or put it into Arabic characters, might change *some* words, to comply the better with Mahometans, under whom those Christians lived. And lastly Mr. Pocock tells us, that these

things he cannot affirm upon certain and undoubted grounds, but only upon probable reasons. Thus modestly he writes. Whereas this Author speaks confidently of things which he never understood. Now if any desire to know what use may be of this Arabic Version, what Copies we used, what Translations there are, he may peruse if he please *Proleg.* xiv. where he shall not find any such use, either of this, or any other Translation as our Adversary feigns, viz. *to correct the Originals*, or, as he elsewhere expresses it, *to correct the Word of God*.

V. In the next place he falls upon the [L] Syriac, that noble, ancient, Oriental treasure, made immediately out of the Hebrew, of which he tells us, he believes some part of it was made out of the Hebrew, as if the major part were out of the LXX. or some other Translation, which all, that know of it any thing, know to be utterly untrue. Sometimes it varies in some words (of no importance) from our modern Hebrew Copies, which shews (as learned Hottinger observes) some various or different reading between that Copy and ours, but none ever doubted that it was out of the Hebrew. Then he questions the antiquity of it; "He knows not when, where, nor by whom it was made." If he will be ignorant of these things, who can help it? Otherwise he might have learned of those that have

spent more time in the search of these things than himself; that the constant opinion and tradition of the Eastern Churches is, that it was either made in the age the Apostles lived in, or not long after. I mean that which they call the *simple Edition*, (which is by us followed,) which alone were enough to prove the antiquity of it, as Bootius (as great an assertor of the Hebrew Text, as our Adversary can be,) Vindic. c. xix. p. 183, proves, when he saith, "it were intolerable boldness, and no less foolish, not to give credit to them in this business, than if any Syrian or Persian, who never had been in Europe, and were altogether ignorant of the Latin," (as he supposes them to be of the Syriac tongue who question the antiquity of this Translation,) "and had never seen or read any Latin book, should question whether the Vulgar Latin Translation of the New Testament, of which he had never heard but by report, were of that antiquity which they of the Latin Church ascribe unto it, and by constant tradition have always done, and should affirm it was made many ages after. And their rashness," as he there adds, "is so much the more detestable, because we have most strong arguments to prove the great antiquity of it, as that it must needs be in the third century at least, because Diodorus Tarsensis, Theodorus Mopsuestes, Polychronius, Procopius, Gazæus, and others,

who lived some of them in the fourth century, do often mention and commend a Greek Translation then in use, which was made out of the Syriac." He saith further, "That there can be no place for doubting in this matter, because the Syrians have many Fathers of their own nation, some since, others long before Diodorus, who wrote in their own Syriac language, and quote many places out of the Syriac Translation of the Old Testament, made out of the Hebrew, which agree verbatim with that which we have, of which he is most certain, by those many instances which he could give out of that great Syriac MS. called *Catena Syriaca in Evangelia*, which he had among many other Syriac books, out of the Library of that famous and reverend Usher."

VI. The great antiquity of this Version is also proved *Proleg.* xiii. out of the ancient writers which mention it, Saint Basil, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Eusebius, and others mentioned in the ancient Greek Scholiast, besides Jacobus Syrus, (who was present at the Nicene Council,) and Ephraim Magnus, who do both mention this Syriac Translation, and commented upon it in Syriac. Besides it must needs be of great antiquity, when that other and later Syriac Translation was made out of the LXX. above a thousand years ago, as appears by Marsius in Jos. who had some Syriac books of that

Translation written before that time ; and some Syriac Copies of the New Testament are now remaining in the Duke of Florence's Library, (as I had from one residing there, who perused the same MSS.) which appear to have been written above a thousand years ago ; of which with other arguments, those that please may read *Prolegomena* xiii. The Adversary further tells us, "That in many places it evidently followed another corrupt Translation, and that it passed through the hands of men ignorant and suspicious, against whose frauds and folly, by reason of the paucity of Copies, we have no relief." But for proof of all we have not a word, nor any testimony, nor any instance of any Translation it followed at all, much less of any corruption ; but all this you must take upon his word, against the judgment of all learned men, who have some of them spent more years in this Translation, than he ever spent days, and therefore what credit his bare *ipse dixit* may have, let any wise man judge.

VII. Lastly, having nothing to say against this Translation in particular, he falls upon the scribe of [M] that Cambridge MS. which we compared with the rest, for desiring the prayers of the Saints for him, and that God would hear them on his behalf ; as if the credit of an ancient Translation depended upon any addition made by a transcriber, who lived, it may be, a thousand

years after : by which reason he might reject the Greek Text of the New Testament, because in some old MSS. some such prayers and ejaculations may be found added by the scribes of those Copies.

VIII. Thirdly, he falls foul upon the [N] Samaritan Pentateuch and Version, p. 327, and 260. He labours first to prove what nobody denies, " That their Pentateuch cannot vie with the Hebrew Text," p. 329, when as he could not but read, *Proleg.* xi. that it is there expressly affirmed, that their Pentateuch is not authentic, and that there are some wilful corruptions in it, as that about Mount Gerizim ; and that it cannot stand in competition with the Hebrew. Then he proceeds and tells us, " that all is uncertain about them and their Pentateuch ; that it were no hard task to manifest the uncertainty of what is fixed upon the Original of this Pentateuch in the *Prolegom.* or to enforce those conjectures which he opposeth ; but it is not in his present work, nor that he knows of ever will be." In the mean time I hope what is said in the *Prolegomena* may stand firm, till it be impugned or confuted, which I do not fear to be done by our Author in haste. Yet though I do not love to spend time about frivolous exceptions ; some things there be which I cannot well pass by without notice.

IX. Pag. 261. he saith, "The Samaritans had not the Book of the Law from the Priest that was sent unto them by the King of Babylon, because they continued in their idolatry, and therefore probably they had it when they were conquered by Hircannus, after their Temple was destroyed, which had stood two hundred years;" and p. 262, 327, 329. "that there are any of them at this day, or have been these thousand years last, is unknown; that they continued in their idolatry till Hircannus's time, who subdued them; that their Pentateuch was not used by any ancient Christians," &c. All which Paradoxes are visible untruths, affirmed without any the least proof, yea, against all history, ancient and modern, and against the judgment of all learned men who have written of this subject. *That the Priest taught them to fear the Lord*, is expressed, 2 King. xvii. 28. How this could be done without the Book of the Law, is not imaginable, when as it is said, that before that time, *they feared not the Lord*, and then it is said, *that they feared the Lord*, though withal *they worshipped their idols*. That Manasseh, the High Priest's brother, fled thither in Esdras's time, and built a temple on Mount Gerizim, whither divers Priests and other Jews also came, and there worshipped God, and offered sacrifices, (though in a schismatical way,) is out of doubt. And how this could be done with-

out the Book of the Law is not to be conceived. That they continued in their idolatry till their Temple was destroyed by Hircanus, is against all ancient records, which affirm the contrary, Joseph. lib. 9. cap. ult. saith, "Postquam Legem, et Dei colendi rationem ab iis, (sacerdotibus à Salmanasare, *for so it should be printed, missis*) edocti diligenter Deum colere cœperunt, moxque cessavit pestilentia, permanentq; in ea religione." Epiph. Hæres. 3. saith, "Illos accepta lege hoc unum studuisse, ut idolorum repudiata superstitione Summum Deum agnoscerent." The same is affirmed by some rabbins, produced *Prolegom.* xi. though out of their innate hatred they forge many calumnies and untruths against them. But that after their temple was destroyed by Hircanus, that they should then, and not before, receive the Pentateuch, is such a groundless fancy, that I could hardly think our Author hoped that any would believe it. Can any man imagine, that for two hundred years they should offer sacrifices, and observe the Law, without any Copy of the Law; and after their temple was destroyed, when they had no place to worship in, that they should then receive it, and that in a strange character, and only the Pentateuch? when as if Hircanus had forced the Pentateuch upon them, he would, without doubt, have forced all the rest of the Jewish Canon upon them, and that in the Jews' charac-

ter. Pardon me, good reader, if thy patience be exercised in confuting such wild fictions, whose very naming is enough to confute them among sober and discreet men.

X. Of the same stamp is that which follows: "That it is unknown that any of them are remaining at this day, or have been these thousand years: that their *Pentateuch* was never used by ancient Christians, &c." They were not so few in the times of Zeno and Justinian, but that they durst rebel against those potent Emperors. Benjamin in his *Itinerary*, written about five hundred years ago, found divers Synagogues of them at Damascus, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Palestina, Sichem, &c. Peter du Valle, and others, who lately travelled in the East, have found divers Synagogues of them still remaining at Sichem, Jerusalem, Gaza, Cairo, and Damascus; and affirm, that there are some relicks of them still remaining at Cairo, of those Colonies which Ptolemy carried into Egypt. That their chief Priest resides still at Sichem, on Mount Gerizim, where he sends circular letters to the rest about their solemn feasts. Scaliger had (from Eleazar their High Priest at Sichem, and the Samaritans at Cairo, to whom he wrote,) a Type of the Calendar and Compute for the year 1589, which he published both in Samaritan and Hebrew characters, lib. 7. *De Emend.* See Gassendus in *Vita Peirescii*,

p. 157. and Hottinger, *Bibliothec. Orient.* c. 4. p. 305. I have seen a Samaritan Pentateuch which [O] belonged to one of their Priests at Damascus, about four hundred years ago, as appears by what he hath written in that Copy. And notwithstanding all this, we must believe there are none of them remaining, nor known for these thousand years !

XI. That *no ancient Christians made use of their Pentateuch*, is like the rest. The Author had read the contrary proved, *Prolegom.* xi. where sect. 7. 14, &c. he could not but find Origen, Eusebius, Africanus, Cyril of Alexand. Diodorus Tars. Jérôm, Eulogius, Procopius, Epiphanius, the Greek Scholiast, and other ancient Writers quoted, and their testimonies produced, to prove the Samaritan Copy they used to have been the same with this now extant, by the places they alleged about Chronology, and other controverted Texts : yet all these men must not be reckoned among ancient Christians, for no ancient Christians made use of it ! It is strange, if any thing can be strange, in such an Adversary, that he should so boldly affirm such things, which are so easily detected, and so plainly confuted. He also saith, that there is no more in Scaliger or Morinus discovered about the Samaritans, than we had formerly from the Scriptures and Josephus ; which no man that hath read Scaliger or

Morinus will believe. Those that have read them, or the *Prolegomena*, will find many things concerning the Samaritans and their Pentateuch, which could not be found either in the Scripture or Josephus, being matters of fact, done long after Josephus's time, and after the Canon of the Scripture was finished.

XII. But he is much offended, p. 331. "that from the occasional mention of the Samaritan Liturgy, and the pretended antiquity of it, the Author of the *Prolegomena* falls, and not without some bitterness, on those that have [P] laid aside the English Liturgy, or Service Book, and saith, it had not been imprudently done, to reserve a triumph over the Sectaries to some more considerable victory than any is to be hoped from the example of the Samaritans, a wicked people, forsaken of God, &c. and therefore he could have wished he had refrained that close of his Discourse." And the Author of the *Prolegomena* could have wished that his Adversary could at length learn to relate things truly, and to forbear calumnies. Let the place be looked on, *Proleg.* xi. sect. 23. and let any man see, whether it be not the example of the Jews, who used set forms of public prayer, from the time of Esdras, and who were certainly the people of God, to whom the promises were made, from whom the argument is drawn against our modern Sectaries, and that the Samaritans

are mentioned in this only *ut Judæorum æmuli* ; so that the example of the Samaritans proves chiefly the practice of the Jews, whose apes they were in this and other things, and so may well be brought as an argument against our Novellists. The words are these : *Quam (Liturgiam Samaritanorum) valdè antiquam esse et prope Esdræ tempora in usu fuisse, vel ex ipsis Judæorum formulis, quas paulo post reditum à Babylone, ab Esdra, et sociis ejus compositas fuisse affirmant uno ore omnes Judæi, quasque in hunc usque diem usurpant, colligi potest. Videantur Cappellus in Spicileg. et Seldeni Notæ in Eut. Unde Sectariorum nostrorum perveritacia, et impietas, meritò redarguitur, qui, spreteis omnibus publicis Orationum et Liturgiæ formulis, per omnes Christi Ecclesias ab ipsis Ecclesiæ Christianæ primordiis, et Apostolorum temporibus usitatis, Liturgiam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, omnium per orbem Christianum purissimam, et sanctissimam, damnarunt, et omnibus, &c. Quorum praxis ab ipsis Judæis eorumque æmulis Samaritanis erroris et novitatis arguitur :* where we see the argument is drawn chiefly from the Jews ; and from the Samaritans, only as imitating the Jews. And let the Samaritans be what they will, yet their example in imitation of the Jews, who were then the only visible Church of Christ, is a strong argu-

ment for the use of public set forms of Liturgy, and will more prevail with sober and pious men, than all the pretences of factious Novellists.

XIII. In the fourth place, the [Q] Chaldee Paraphrase comes under censure, "which is likewise a Cento made up of divers pieces; some part supposed," (*I say, proved in the Prolegomena*), "to be written before Christ, and some part" (*acknowledged likewise in the Prolegomena*) "to be written five hundred years after Christ." The great use of this Paraphrase, among other things, is largely shewed, *Proleg.* xii. sect. 17, 18, 19. in confirming the integrity of the Hebrew text, proving sundry main articles of the Christian faith against the Jews, explaining many obscure places, and dark phrases, &c. and our Adversary cannot but acknowledge it: other things likewise concerning these Paraphrases, their Authors, Antiquity, &c. are largely handled in the same *Prolegomena*, to which I must refer the reader. He tells us of the *bulky collections of Various Readings in this Paraphrase*; but he might have observed by the Title, that there are not only Various Readings, but also Observations, which take up the greatest part of that collection. And as for Buxtorf's *Babylonia*, which he talks of by hearsay, it is true, his son sent it me to be printed among other things in this Bible, with a short Preface of his own; but it came too late, after

our own notes on that subject were begun, and would have risen to a greater bulk than the last volume of the Bible would well bear. Whereupon I forbore to print it, but shall willingly communicate it to any that shall undertake to make it public, and shall further their endeavours therein, it being a book very useful, as I conceive, to restore that ancient Translation to its purity, (though I conceive there is much done already in our last volume to that purpose.) And I think that learned author would never have taken such pains therein, if he had so slightly esteemed it, as our Adversary doth.

XIV. The [R] Vulgar Latin scapes the lash pretty well, which I thought should have felt his displeasure most, because so magnified by the Church of Rome. He esteems it the best in the whole collection, except the Interlineary, notwithstanding its corruption and barbarisms. What esteem it deserves, is declared, *Prolegom.* x. sect. 12, but what he writes in preferring it before the rest, is, I doubt, not so much out of his esteem of the Vulgar Latin, but thereby to depress the worth of the rest, which the vulgar reader must needs think to be very bad, when this, which vulgar divines so cry out against, is preferred before them all. He may enjoy his opinion, but he must leave others to judge of them as they see cause, who look upon them

without prejudice. What the authority, and use of this Translation is with the several questions concerning the same, the reader may find declared and debated at large, *Proleg. x.*

XV. Now comes the [S] Septuagint, which he saith, must bear the weight of all ; the most of the rest being taken out of it. Of this Translation we have written at large, *Prolegom. ix.* which for its antiquity, and hoary hairs, is most opposed by all Novellists, though it be proved, in the same *Prolegomena*, that it was publicly read in the Synagogues for near three hundred years before Christ ; that our Saviour and the Apostles used it, and cited it more frequently than the Hebrew Text, and thereby consecrated it to posterity ; that by this Translation chiefly, (which was by the Apostles left to the Church of Christ,) the Church, especially among the Gentiles, was first gathered, and by it nourished and built up, and the world subdued to Christ ; that for many centuries no other Translation but this, and such as were made out of it, (excepting the Syriac,) was used in the Church, nor is any other used in the Greek Church to this day ; that this was that which the Greek and Latin Fathers expounded, illustrated, out of which they instructed the people, confuted heresies, and maintained the truth ; that this, which we now have, is the same for substance with that anciently used, (though in

some things, by the injury of time, and frequent transcriptions vitiated ;) which, with all the several questions and controversies about this Translation, are at large discussed and handled ; to which I must refer the reader, where he shall find all the doubts and questions raised by this Author, or others, resolved, and all their aspersions cast upon it wiped off. It would be too long to go over the particulars here. Those that amongst our Neoterics have been least favourable to it, have yet highly valued it, as is shewed out of Scaliger, Heinsius, and others. Heinsius saith of it : " Rarum et incomparabilem thesaurum esse neminem ignorare posse, nisi qui ab omni eruditione alienus sit." Aristarch. cap. xv. p. 951. The quarrels and cavils therefore of our Author against it, I shall not meddle with now ; all of them, and a great deal more, is related and answered in the same *Prolegom.* ix. only I cannot but observe how he overlashes still, when he affirms, that most of the Versions in the *Biblia Polyglotta* are evidently taken out of it, which he cannot with any colour affirm of any but the Arabic ; of which, yet, himself formerly told us, the Pentateuch was translated out of the Hebrew, and some part out of the Syriac : as for the rest, viz. the Samaritan Version, the Syriac, Chaldee, and the Vulgar Latin, they are all out of the Hebrew, except the Psalms in the Vulgar Latin and

Ethiopic, which seem to be out of the LXX. Though it may be here and there in some words they may agree with the LXX. yet this gives not the least colour to affirm that they were taken out of it.

XVI. Besides, we may observe upon what weak grounds he goes, when he sticks not to insist upon that Argument against the Septuagint, that the Original Copy was burnt in the Library of Alexandria, in Cæsar's time, to prove that there are no true Copies now left ; which childish argument he knew was answered, *Proleg. ix. sect. 49.* so as might have made any man of common discretion forbear to urge it : for it is shewed, and on all hands confessed, that there were thousands of Copies every where extant among the Jews, and read publicly in their Synagogues all the world over, and so had been for some hundred of years before the burning of Ptolemy's Library ; so that the loss of that Original Copy (though it may be justly doubted whether it perished in that conflagration or no, as is there shewed,) can no more prove that succeeding ages have not the true Copy of it, than it can be inferred that we have no true Copies of the Hebrew and Greek Texts because the first Originals have been lost many ages since, as among other things is there shewed.

XVII. The Ethiopic and Persian Transla-

tions, which he falls upon in the last place, "are the worst and most corrupt in the world. He can find no use of the Persian, but only to shew that there is such an useless thing in the world. The Ethiopic is the novel endeavour of an illiterate person. He knows not whether some of them be in use now in the world, he is sure that it were well that they be not; had he not seen them, he could not have imagined any had been so bad. He thinks some Jews had a hand in one for money." Thus some men shoot their bolts at random. It is sufficient that learned men, and such as are able to judge, do acknowledge the use of them, and thankfully receive the publishing of them. The antiquity and use of both, especially of the [T] Ethiopic, is declared *Proleg.* xiv. and xv. What is there said and proved, will, I doubt not, overbalance what is by him barely affirmed to the contrary. That the Ethiopic is now used, and hath been since the conversion of that Nation, among the Abyssinians, through those large territories, consisting of many kingdoms, is shewed by good authority, and sundry reasons, against Scaliger. Our Author knows not whether it be any where used, but I think there is scarce any besides himself that doubts it, that doth not shut his eyes against the clear light. Concerning the [U] Persian, it is acknowledged in the *Prolegomena* not to be that ancient Trans-

lation mentioned by Theodoret and others of the ancients, of which it may be doubted whether any part of it be extant : as also that it was made out of the Syriac, not immediately out of the Greek ; yet that it may be useful, is likewise shewed, *Proleg.* xv. in divers particulars, and that this Copy we have printed was written three hundred years ago ; but how long before the Translation itself was made, we cannot determine. How the Jews should have a hand in any of the Translations is a fancy which I think never lodged in any man's breast but his own, nor can he shew any ground for it. It may as well be said, that Turks and Mahometans made all these Translations for the use of Christians. Because the transcriber of the Ethiopic, (as it is rendered in Latin,) makes Saint John Bishop of Constantinople, (though it be doubtful whether it may be so rendered, as he might have seen in the annotations, and the Ethiopic word is not Constantinople, though the learned translator of it into Latin conjectured it might be there meant;) therefore the Ethiopic translator must be illiterate, and the Translation novel, when as in the Syriac our Author could distinguish between the scribe and the translator, and not impute the error of the one to the other ! And as for the antiquity, it is one thing to say, another thing to prove : let him answer the reasons in the *Prole-*

gomena, or bring better of his own, and we shall believe him ; otherwise his bare authority will not be sufficient to command assent against reason.

XVIII. By this which we have said it appears, that as our Author hath feigned to himself an adversary when he had none, that so he might have some pretence of depressing the several Translations ; so that which is said by him, we might well have passed by, but that our silence would have been by him interpreted as an acknowledgment of the truth of his affirmations. And although his invectives be groundless and vain, yet I have good ground to believe, that there is something else in the Translations themselves, (which he is not willing to mention,) which hath caused all this bitterness against them. It appears by these ancient Translations that, what our Sectaries have [W] cried down in the Church of England, as Popish innovations, viz, episcopal government, set forms of Liturgies, observation of festivals besides the Lord's Day, were used (as they are still) in those Eastern Churches, planted by the Apostles, and their Successors, in Asia and Africa, from the first times of their conversion ; so that what these men would exterminate as Romish and Antichristian novelties have been anciently used by those famous and flourishing Churches, which never pro-

fessed subjection to the See of Rome. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ* : This is that *cordolium* of our Novellists, the practice of the universal Church of Christ all the world over, which condemns their innovations ; which argument is of more force with considering men, than all the acute arguments drawn only from strength of reason. For to condemn the practice of the Church of Christ in all parts of the world, constantly observed in all ages, is *insolentissima insania*, as Saint Augustine long since [said.] These things, with some other ancient rites, appear in the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, &c. which I doubt were as great moles in our Author's eye, which made him so willing to quarrel with the Translations, and to cavil without a cause : and thus I have briefly run over his invective against the Translations, entreating the reader for more full satisfaction to consult the *Prolegomena* themselves, and by *these specimina which we have given of his candour and love of truth, to judge of the rest of his Discourse.* And thus we have done with the main charge, the principal subject of his book, *the Various Readings, and the Corruptions of the Originals which he would thereupon infer.* I shall proceed now more briefly to that other principal charge, concerning the punctuation of the Hebrew Text ; after which

we shall add something about the ancient Hebrew Characters, and of the use of the Septuagint Translation, towards the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue ; and so put an end to the reader's trouble and our own for the present.

CHAPTER X.

1. The Controversy of the Hebrew punctuation, by whom handled. II. The charge against the Prolegomena. III. No new thing delivered in the Prolegomena about points, nor any thing prejudicial to the certainty and authority of the Hebrew Text. IV. V. That the Hebrews always had vowels was proved. The vowels excluded from the letters by late Grammarians against reason. VI. The Masorites did not point the Text as they pleased, but according to the true and common reading. The true reading depends not upon their authority. VII. VIII. A main objection answered: That they might certainly point the Text after the language ceased to be vulgar. IX. The certain reading of the Text by diligent practice and use attainable without points, proved by example. X. In words unpointed, dubious in themselves, the ambiguity is taken away as they are part of a sentence, and by custom or use, proved by the Talmuds and rabbinical writers. The New Testament at first had no accents or notes of distinction, &c. The Chaldee Paraphrase, Syriac, Arabic, had no points at first. XI. What is affirmed in the Biblia Polyglotta about this Controversy. XII. The first occasion of this Controversy about points handled. XIII. XIV. Elias Lev. not the first broacher of the novelty of points. XV. XVI. XVII. Divers, both Jews and Christians, held the same opinion long before Elias. XVIII. Elias's pretended aim. XIX. The seeming advantage given to Papists, no ground to maintain an untruth.

I. CONCERNING the Points whereby the Hebrew vowels and accents are now signified and distin-

guished, whether they be coeve with the language itself, or of the same antiquity and original with the Text, either affixed by Moses, as some say, or by Ezra, and the great ^{synagogue} ~~synagogue~~, as others; or whether they were ^{introduced} ~~introduced~~ by some rabbins after those times to ^{facilitate} ~~facilitate~~ the reading, and prevent the errors, ^{which} ~~which~~ might arise from the ambiguity of some ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ is, hath been [X] long disputed by divers ^{as} ~~as~~ Elias Levita chiefly, among the Jews; among Protestants also, and Romanists; and amongst the former by Jos. Scaliger, Drusius, Sixtin Amama, D. Prideaux, Lect. 12, and others, but most largely by Buxtorf, both father and son; and by Lud. Cappellus; by the father, in his Hebrew Grammar; and by Cappellus, in his *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*, printed by Erpenius, at Leyden, in 1614; and by Buxtorf the son, in his answer to Cappellus. The chief arguments on both sides are collected, and with addition of some others, presented, *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 38. to 56. What is charged in the *Considerations* upon the *Prolegomena* in this matter, we have in part set forth, chap. iii. in some particulars, and opposite thereto, what is asserted in the *Prolegomena*. We shall now more fully discuss what is charged or objected in the one, and what is granted or denied in the other; not that I intend to handle the Controversy at large, which would be *actum*

agere, and make this short reply swell into a great volume, but as our Author saith, he would, *ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ*, briefly consider the heads of things, so I shall briefly take notice of *his Considerations*.

II. In his Epist. page 19, he saith, "That the solemn espousal ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} opinion of the novelty of the Hebrew punctu ^{by} ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ the *Biblia Polyglotta*, was one chief occasion of these *Considerations*." The opinion which he opposes, is by him in several places declared, p. 157, "That the Hebrew points or vowels, and accents, are a novel invention of some Judaical rabbins, about five or six hundred years after the giving out of the Gospel:" and p. 205, "That the points or vowels, and accents, are a late invention of the Tiberian Masorites, long after sundry Translations were extant in the world. Their arbitrary invention:" p. 208, c. iv. in the contents, and p. 217, 218, 293, "the arbitrary inventions of some Jews, and that it is lawful for us to change them at pleasure," p. 250, 258, 217, 218. Hence he deduces these consequences, p. 157, "That the agreement of those Translations, before the supposed invention of the points, with the Original, cannot by just consequence be tried by the present Text, as now pointed and accented." And, "that the whole credit of our reading and interpretation of the Scripture, as

far as regulated by the present punctuation, depends solely on the faithfulness and skill of those Jews, whose invention this is asserted to be. This is one of those two principles, which being granted, there is no other way to be delivered from utter uncertainty in and about all sacred truth." Epist. p. 25. "That all things are hereby made doubtful in Scripture, so that no certain truth can be learned from the Scriptures," p. 211: "yea, they not only make doubtful the authority of the Scriptures, but wholly pluck it up by the roots," p. 213. "And therefore he had rather that this work of the *Biblia Polyglotta*, and all works of the like kind, were out of the world, than that this one opinion should be received with the consequences that unavoidably attend it." Those consequences are, Epist. p. 9, "We must either turn Papists or Atheists:" p. 19, "He dare not mention the desperate consequences that attend this imagination:" p. 161, "Either the pretended infallible Judge, or the depth of Atheism, will be found to lie at the door of these Considerations, &c."

III. One would think by these passages, that the *Prolegomena* had delivered some strange and dangerous opinion, never heard of before, which overthrows all certainty, and by consequence all authority of Scripture; whereas it is there proved,

and shall now be made appear, that the same doctrine of the original of points was delivered by the greatest Reformers, the most eminent Protestant divines, both at the beginning of the Reformation, and since ; and the best skilled in Eastern learning, which then were, or at this day are, in the Christian world ; and the greatest patrons of the integrity of the Hebrew Text : And that, as the same is by the *Prolegomena* maintained, there is no prejudice at all arising to the certainty of the Hebrew Text. For we neither affirm that the vowels and accents were invented by the Masorites, but that the Hebrew tongue did always consist of vowels and consonants : Aleph, Vau, and Jod, were the vowels before the points were invented, as they were also in the Syriac, Arabic, and other Eastern tongues : nor that these points, which are now used for vowels and accents, were the arbitrary invention of the Masorites, but that they pointed the Text according to the true and received reading, and not as they pleased : nor that it is lawful for any to reject their reading at pleasure, but that all are tied to it, unless some error, or better reading, can be clearly proved ; nor that the authority of the reading depends upon the Masorites, but that they pointed it according to the received reading, which expressed the true sense of the Holy Ghost ; so that the Controversy is only about the present

points, in regard of their forms, not of their force and signification, which D. Prideaux well expresses. sect. 12. Lect. 4. "Controversia non est de vocalium sono, sed signis, an ista fuerint ab initio qualia nunc habemus;" and sect. 3. "De sonis, sive rebus substractis, lis non est, sed de figuris et characteribus," &c. In which it is true, the Author of the *Prolegomena* denies the antiquity or divine original of the present points; wherein, as I said, he hath the concurrent judgment of the learnedest Protestant divines, and ablest linguists; and maintains that they were long after the time of Esdras, yea, about five hundred years after Christ: yet herein he writes with that moderation, that he leaves every man liberty to judge as he pleaseth, only propounds what seemed to him most probable.

IV. First then, for the true stating of the Controversy, which our Author wholly neglects, we must distinguish between the vowels and accents, in regard of their sound and signification, and the points and figures whereby they are now signified or expressed: for it is frequently acknowledged in the *Prolegomena*, that the Hebrew, as all other Languages, consists of consonants and vowels; and that it hath its accents or tones, though not always noted by points in every word as they are now. Thus Drusius, *De recta lectione Linguae sanctæ*, cap. 4. distinguishes:

"Vocalium soni literis cœvi sunt, figuræ vero posteriores, et post Hieronymi ætatem." So doth Chamier, *Panstrat.* lib. 12. cap. 4. n. 5. where he writes, "Vocales quoad sonos semper fuisse, de picturis verò se nolle cum ullo contendere, num posse concedi codices antiquitatis non fuisse punctatos : " so also D. Prideaux in the place now alleged, *Lect.* 12. sect. 3. vowels do, as it were, animate all words, and are as the soul to the body, wherenpon they are called *vocales*, à *voce* ; because by the help of vowels articulate words are pronounced. This is largely proved, *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 49, &c. where it is also shewed that the ancient Hebrew vowels were the same before the invention of points, which are in all other Eastern Tongues, as the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, &c. viz. וּן which are yet commonly called *matres lectionis*, because they direct the reading in books not pointed, to which some add ם, and St. Jerome ף. The Grammarians indeed make them all consonants, and exclude the vowels out of the number of letters, that they may make way for the points, but against all reason and common sense : For the Hebrews have as many letters as other nations, (for as is shewed, [Y] *Prolegom.* ii. other nations, as the Assyrians, Greeks, &c. received their letters originally from them, as by their names and order of the Alphabet appears ;) and therefore I see no reason why the Hebrews could

not express all their words by these twenty-two letters, as well as other nations. Certainly, the Hebrew Alphabet must be very defective, if it have no vowels, which are the chief letters, without which, no letters can be pronounced: This would make an Alphabet of such letters as could not at all be pronounced, which were most absurd: for as Morinus saith, "quod est sua natura vocalissimum, et per quod cætera redduntur vocalia, esset mutum." By the help of these letters Origen expressed all the Hebrew Text in Greek letters in his Hexapla: The like hath St. Jerom and divers others of the ancients done, when they express some words or verses in Greek or Latin letters. And why could not Moses and the Prophets do the like, as the Jews do at this day, when they express the words of other nations, Latin, Italian, Spanish, &c. in Hebrew letters without points?

V. Out of Origen we have some reliicks left in [Z] that ancient Greek MS. of Cardinal Barberini's of the Minor Prophets; which, collated with the Roman LXX. I have printed in the *Appendix*; and have produced some verses, viz. Hos. iii. 2. and xi. 1. in *Proleg.* iii. sect. 49. as a specimen how Origen expressed the Hebrew Text in Greek letters, by which it appears that *Jod* served for (י) sometimes for (י) *Aleph* for (א) *Vau* for (ו) and (ו) and sometimes for (ז) *Ain* for (א) and

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sometimes for (i). Josephus l. 6. *De Bello Jud.* calls the letters of the name **יהוה** *quatuor litteras*, four vowels; for by *quatuor* he understands vowels in opposition to consonants, called *consonantes*. So St. Jerom frequently, as is observed by Gerard Vossius, *De Arte Gram.* l. 1. c. 27. and others. "Verum est quidem hodie vocales in iis quiescere, at olim pro vocalibus fuisse testatur Hieron. qui eas vocales appellat." Epist. 145. "Docet pro *Hosianna* dici *Hosanna*, media vocali illisa, quia ab *Aleph* excluditur *Jod*." Here it is evident he reckons *Aleph* and *Jod* among vowels. And Epist. ad Evagr. "Referre negat utrum dicamus *Salim*," (which is written **סלם** with *Jod*,) "an *Salem*," which is written **סל** without *Jod*, "et hanc causam reddit, quod vocalibus in medio literis rarè utuntur Judæi." Here it is plain he calls *Jod* a vowel. "Idem tradit Heb. Gen. 13. dicit **אפרן** cum **ו** scribi, et **אפר** ablata **ו** litera, quæ apud Hebræos pro (u) legitur." More to this purpose is alleged in the same place, to which I know not what can be answered; it being as clear as if it were written by a beam of the sun, that Jerom reckoned **והי** for vowels. So Zuinglius (misprinted Zuingler in the *Proleg.*) *Præf. in Esaiam*, *Vocalibus nunquam caruit illa lingua. & enim a y e i i o et u, nunquam eis defuerunt, &c.* Besa de recta ling. Græc. pronunc. *Non dubito quin ante puncta vocalia*

ab Hebræis Grammaticis divinissimo certè invento excogitata, (quod post Hieron. ætatem contigit,) Aleph idem prorsus illis atque cæteris gentibus sonuerit. This, and a great deal more, those that please may read in those *Proleg.* all which our Author well knew, but was pleased to pass over in silence, as knowing it would overthrow one part of the foundation, whereupon that fabulous opinion of the antiquity of points is built; and therefore for information of the reader I have here transcribed. In the same place the reason is given, why the Hebrews more frequently omit the vowels in the midst of words, than in the beginning or end: *Unde hæc consuetudo Hebræis, vocales in mediis vocibus omittendi plerumque, cum initio et fine sæpius* (not *semper*, as it is misprinted) *adhibeant;* which the reader may find, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 50. Notwithstanding all this, (which our Author had read in the *Prolegomena*,) he sticks not to bring the same words, (which we have mentioned out of Jerom,) to prove that pointed vowels were known to Jerom, *Epist.* 126. *Nec refert utrum Salem an Salim nominetur, cum vocalibus in medio literis perrarò utantur Hebræi.* Whence he observes, p. 285. "that the Hebrews had the use of vowels, or else he cannot understand his words; for if they did it *perrarò*, they did it sometimes." He did not, or rather he would not, understand

his words; for he could not but know, that by vowels, Jerom meant not the modern points, but the ancient vowels then in use. I would gladly know of him how *Salim* and *Salem* are written in Hebrew, whether *Salim* be not with *Jod*, and *Salem* without it: and then whether in that place Jerom could mean any thing but *Jod* by *vocalis media*. For the vowels which the Hebrews used in St. Jerom's time, they used *perrarò*, very seldom, in the middle of words, and most frequently in the beginning and end. And so it is true, they used those *vocales literæ*, which were the *matres lectionis*; but the *puncta vocalia*, the vowels now used in our Bibles, are used more frequently in the middle, seldom in the end, and never in the beginning of a word, no nor a syllable; for, *consona semper syllabam inchoat*. Therefore not the *puncta vocalia*, but the *literæ vocales*, were the only vowels in St. Jerom's time. And consequently our *Considerator* by his own confession cannot understand St. Jerom's words. Besides if our present points had been then in use, there had been then no place left for different pronunciation, either *pro voluntate lectorum*, or *pro varietate regionum*, as Jerom affirms of those vowels he meant in the same place.

VI. It is also to be noted, which is often in the *Proleg.* asserted, that when we say the Masorites were the authors of the points, that they

affixed them not *pro arbitrio*, as they pleased, or made what reading they thought fit, but that they pointed them generally according to the true and accustomed reading, which they had received, as the true sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, from their ancestors continued from Moses and the Prophets; I say generally: for as appears in the precedent section, in the words cited out of Origen's Hexapla, which also may appear out of the LXX., Jerom, and others that were before the Masorites, they pronounced some letters and vowels otherwise than the Masorites have now pointed them: See Hier. ad Evagr. transcribing Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 20. into Latin letters, where we may find some of them differing from the present pronounciation. The letters *Begadchephat* were not pronounced according to our present rules, as is clearly proved out of Jerom and the LXX. in the *Proleg.* Yet though the sound and pronounciation did sometimes differ, the signification of the words, and the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost might be the same, as in those places out of Origen and Jerom. Or if the sense be differing, yet there want not rules to try which is the best reading, mentioned *Proleg.* vi. However, the pointing was not arbitrary, nor doth the true reading depend upon the Masorites. For as it is said, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 51. *Notandum Masorethas, dum puncta invenerunt, non novos vocalium so-*

nos, vel pronunciationem novam intulxisse, sed juxta consuetudinem sibi traditam libros sacros punctasse, ideoque lectionem non ab iis pendere licet ipsi apices excogitarint, nec ideo lectionem esse veram quia est à Masorethis sed quia verum Sp. S. sensum exprimit, quemque scriptoribus sacris dictavit et per eos literis consignavit. Non enim punctarunt codices pro arbitrio; sed secundum veram et receptam lectionem, quam diligenter poterant, puncta apposuerunt, &c. And this our Author himself grants, p. 250. where he saith that Elias Levita, who makes the Tiberian Masorites the authors of the points, ties all as strictly to the reading by points, as if they had been by Ezra, and left it not to be altered at every man's pleasure. All which is said in the *Proleg.* which deny that the Masorites at pleasure pointed the Text, and, which necessarily follows, that it is lawful for any whatsoever to alter the reading at pleasure; which as it proves the charge of our Author to be groundless, so takes away his main arguments against the novelty of the points, viz. That the reading would depend upon the authority of the rabbins, and that it would be altogether uncertain, and so the authority of the Scriptures would be taken away. For both these are altogether vain and groundless, supposing that the Masorites did not point the words *pro arbitrio*, but were tied to the common received readings.

which they expressed by their punctuation ; for the Text was generally so read by the Christian Church as it now is, as appears both by the Hebrew Copies among them, and by the Comments and Expositions and Translations of the ancient Writers of the Church. The reading and expositions therefore of Christians are not regulated by the Masorites, or depend upon their skill and diligence in punctuation ; for if their punctuation had never been, the reading had been the same it is : Nor do they rely upon the Masorites, but upon the Text itself, and the true reading of it continued and preserved in the Church of Christ ; which because the Masorites had well expressed by their points, the Christian Church received their punctuation, not upon their authority, but as I said, because it expressed the true sense received in the Church of God : and withal, because they saw it conduced much to the more easy reading of the Text.

VII. Against this we have a main objection, p. 292, 293. " That while the Hebrew language was the vulgar tongue of that nation, and was spoken by every one uniformly every where, it had been possible upon a supposition that there were no points, that men without infallible guidance and direction might affix notes and figures which might with some exactness answer the common pronunciation of that language, and so conse-

quently exhibit the true and proper sense and meaning of the words themselves. But when there had been an interruption of 1000 years in the vulgar use of that language, and being preserved only pure in one book, to suppose that the true and exact pronunciation of every letter, title, and syllable, was preserved alive by oral tradition, not written any where, nor commonly spoken, is to build castles in the air." After, he saith, "that the relief is insufficient, to say the Masorites affixed not the present punctuation arbitrarily, but according to the tradition they had received. What weight is to be laid upon such a tradition for near 1000 years, (above, according to Morinus,) is easy to be imagined. Nor let men please themselves with the pretended facility of learning the Hebrew language without points and accents, and not only the language, but the true and proper reading and distinction of the Bible; let the points and accents be wholly removed, and the restraint and distinction of the words as now pointed, and then turn in the drove of the learned Critics of this age upon the noted consonants, and we shall quickly see what woful work, yea havock of the sacred truth will be made among them; were they shut up in several cells, I should hardly expect that harmony and agreement among them; which is fabulously reported to have been among the LXX. in the like case."

VIII. To this we answer. 1. That though the Language ceased to be vulgar for 1000 years, yet there was still a succession of Priests and Scribes and other learned men, who continued the knowledge of the language, and the true reading and pronunciation of the Text, and do to this day; with whom the language was the same at it was when the common people spoke it; and their study and profession was to write out copies of the Law, and likewise to read and expound it, or to teach the reading and true pronunciation of it to others, which they did successively from age to age, (as we see in the Greek and Latin, which have for a long time ceased to be vulgar; and yet the knowledge of the tongues, and the true reading and pronunciation is the same among learned men, as it was when they were vulgar.) This was a great part of the Jewish learning, the true reading of the Text; and they, who were most accurate and exact therein, were honoured most among them, and had their schools and their scholars, and their disciples, whom they instructed from time to time, till at length in regard of their many dispersions and banishments, that the true reading might not be lost with the language, they began to affix points to the Text, as well to facilitate the reading, as to preserve it the better from any alteration or change. And therefore it was all one to them, who still preserved the true read-

ing and sense of the Scriptures, to point and accent it as it was, whilst the common people spake and understood it as well as they ; and therefore upon this concession, that whilst the language was vulgar the points and accents might have been affixed with certainty, it follows undeniably, that even in the time of the Tiberian Masorites, the rabbins and learned men among the Jews might point the Bible as well as their predecessors might have done whilst the language was common. This is a clear truth to any common understanding, and not to build castles in the air.

2. The true reading was not continued by oral or unwritten tradition after the tongue ceased to be vulgar, but by the written Text, which was always preserved entire among them ; and the reading depended not upon tradition otherwise than the reading of all books in other languages, which depends upon the oral instruction of masters and teachers ; without which, continued from hand to hand, how could any know that such a letter or character stands for such a sound, or that such a word hath such a signification ? The Samaritan Pentateuch, Chaldean Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Prophets, and the Syriac Translation of the Bible, continued above a thousand years before they were pointed ; (and the Samaritan is not yet pointed, as is certainly known and confessed by all ;) which shews plainly how the

Hebrew Text might be continued, and the true reading preserved, without pointing; unless our Author can shew any difference as to this matter between the languages: For they have the same letters, the same vowels, *Aleph, Vau, Jod*, with the Hebrew; and the reading in every respect subject to as much ambiguity and uncertainty as is pretended to be in the Hebrew unpointed. And that the true reading might be preserved above a thousand years is not against all reason, but very reasonable to suppose; since we see the same done in the Samaritan, Syriac, and Chaldee, for a longer time, and the same may be said of the Arabic, though not for so long a time after the Alcoran was written.

IX. 3. The certain reading of the Text by diligent practice and use may be attained without points, though with more difficulty than if it were pointed, as hath been heretofore shewed by Martinus, Cappellus, and others. One that is wholly ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, having some Translations, as the LXX. or Vulgar Latin, may by labour and industry, and comparing the Translation with the Text, and observing the antecedents and consequents, find out the signification of each word by itself, and the proper sense and meaning in connexion with others; and may by degrees find out where the translator varied from the Text, and where he was mis-

taken. Thus, among others, Clenard learned the Arabic without any master or instructor, when that language was scarce known in Europe, by the Nebiense Psalter, where the Arabic is without any pointed vowels, by comparing it with other Translations in that Psalter. And so Erpenius, the great restorer of the Arabic in these parts, professes of himself, that, *proprio Marte*, he [A] first got the knowledge of the Arabic tongue, without any teacher, out of Arabic books not pointed; such as the Arabic Gospel, printed at Rome, the Nebiense Psalter, Avicen, and other authors; and if this were done in the Arabic, I know no reason why it may not be done in the Hebrew. In the Chaldee and Syriac, (which seem to be dialects of the Hebrew,) the same was done before points for them were devised. Elias Levita, Galatinus, Scaliger, and others testify of their knowledge, that children are taught to read Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian books, without points; and that they have seen them read very readily. It is true, it is more difficult to read without points, but yet attainable; for our Author is much mistaken when he says, that men may please themselves with a pretended facility of reading the Hebrew without points, I know none that thinks it so very easy: Nay, it is freely acknowledged that it was with more difficulty attained before the points were

devised, and thereupon the faculty of true and distinct reading was accounted no ordinary matter among the rabbins, who counted it a great part of their learning. Yet the analogy of Grammar being agreed upon, and known, it is not difficult for one that is but reasonably skilled in the language, (especially with the help of a Translation, or the like,) to read without points. Now the analogy of Grammar was always the same, or else not only the figures of the points, but the sounds also, are of a late invention. And therefore I doubt not but that if points and accents were taken away, yet by the help of some Translations, and by diligent care and study, one might as well attain to the true reading of the Hebrew, as Clenard and Erpenius did of the Arabic : And that if divers did follow the same study upon the same Text, their harmony and agreement would demonstrate the possibility, and would be better in both the reading and sense of the Scriptures, than is to be found among some congregations at this day, whose harmony in expounding the Scripture, is little better than that of the builders of Babel, when their tongues were divided.

X. Thirdly, it is to be observed, that although the reading of divers words unpointed, considered by themselves, might be dubious and subject to diverse readings, yet this ambiguity is taken away

by the antecedents and consequents ; so that in the context, as they are parts of a sentence, the reading which is in itself ambiguous, is determined to one sense and meaning. This is shewed at large in *Proleg.* xiii. sect. 50, 51, where an instance is given, sect. 51, out of *Exod.* xviii. 15, where the words unpointed are ambiguous, and capable of diverse senses taken severally : but in the context all ambiguity is taken away ; and this is proved against Morinus and other Romanists, with whom our Author seems to join hands ; who from the ambiguity of some words unpointed would prove the Text to be ambiguous. He instances in דבר, which unpointed is capable of eight significations, which is fully answered, *Proleg.* vii. sect. 24. But if, notwithstanding the antecedents and consequents, some words do still remain doubtful, as it is in the Greek, and in all languages, yet the use and custom received in the Church takes away all further ambiguity. The most of those, that stand for the antiquity of the points, ascribe the first beginning of them to Esdras ; as Buxtorf, and others. Now if the Text might be read certainly, and without ambiguity, though without points, from the time of Moses to Esdras, why might it not likewise be continued and preserved as well after Esdras's time as it was before ? Experience, as I have said, shews it in other tongues, as the Chaldee,

Syriac, Arabic, &c. which had no points at first, yet were read without ambiguity. The Talmuds, and other rabbinical writings, are daily read both by Jews and Christians without points. Punctuation facilitates the reading. He that understands not the Hebrew, may read it with points; he that is exercised in the tongue may read it without them. There is no colour why the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriac Bible, the Alcoran, might be read, and the true sense certainly known before they were pointed; and why the Hebrew Text cannot, but must be subject to such uncertainty. The New Testament was not at first written with accents, notes of aspiration, distinction, by comma and colon, &c, as is shewed, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 45, and appears by ancient MSS. our Alexandrian, and others; and is granted generally. Whereupon, in the Complutense Edition, it is printed without accents, that it might better represent the *αὐτογράφον* of the Apostles and Evangelists, as the Authors of that Edition in one of their Prefaces affirm. And it is known, that some Greek words, unaccented, are doubtful, and capable of divers senses; and that the distinctions do sometimes alter the sense, and yet none of the ancients accuse the Greek Text of ambiguity, but the reading was certain, and so continued, till accents and distinctions were invented. If the want of these did not

hinder the certainty of the New Testament, why should the want of the points hinder the certainty of the Old? Therefore D. Prideaux, *Lect. xii. sect. 17*, saith, “*Lectionis certitudo comparari potest absque punctis ex attenta praxi, et librata orationis serie.*” To the same purpose Martinus, *Technolog.* “*Incerta, inquis, erunt omnia in libris sacris si desunt puncta. Deum immortalem! quid audio? Tota Hebræorum sapientia in scriptis Talmudicis, et Rabbinicis, quæ multa sunt, sine punctis tradita est, sine punctis legitur, et publicè in Scholis exponitur; neque quisquam est qui incerta illic omnia conqueratur; et tu mihi reclamas Hebræa scripta sine punctis incerta esse, neque te protinus ab ipsa rerum experientia convinci refellique sentias!*” To these I will only add what Buxtorf senior saith of the uncertainty of the Chaldee unpointed, which may be as truly said and applied to the Hebrew unpointed, *Thesaur. Gram.* 1609, p. 614. “*Incerta in voce per se extra sententiam posita non in continuata et perfecta sententia, &c. Arbitrarium est; sed ei, qui ignorantie tenebris obductus, nigrum arbitratur esse album, et pro arbitrio de coloribus judicat. Non cujuscunque arbitrium, sed conveniens sententiarum ratio, sed certa constansque analogia Grammatica veram lectionem moderatur.*” These things considered, most of our Adversary’s reasons, espo-

cially that which is the principal, about the uncertainty of the Text are answered ; all which are at large handled in the *Prolegom.* iii. but these he prudently passeth over, because if they had been mentioned by him, the whole fabric of his building had fallen to the ground.

XI. That which we affirm there about this controversy, is, first, that the modern points were not either from Adam, or affixed by Moses or the Prophets that were before the Captivity. Nor, secondly, after the Captivity, devised either by Ezra, or any other before the completing of the Talmud. Thirdly, but, after five hundred years after Christ, invented by some learned Jews for the help of those who were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, whom they would teach, by this means, to read the Hebrew Text as distinctly and exactly as themselves ; that so, after they had taken out of the people's hands, and laid aside the Greek Translation of the LXX., they might have every where in their Synagogues men, though unlearned, who by this help might be able to read the Text publicly, which, before the invention of those points, could be done only by a few learned men. Fourthly, as for other matters, though probably affirmed, I do not insist much ; as who they were ; how many ; one or more ; in what place they lived ; (whether at Tiberias, or elsewhere ;) or where they met about

this work ; what the precise and exact time was, when the punctuation was made ; whether the sixth, seventh, or eighth age after Christ : in which things, because of the great defect of any certain historical monuments among the Jews for those times, all being involved in great obscurity and darkness, by reason of their dispersions and banishments, it is hard to determine any thing with certainty ; though it be most probable, that this work was taken in hand, about five hundred years after Christ, by the Tiberian Masorites.

XII. These things being premised about the state of the controversy, and the certainty of the Scriptures without points, it will be needful further to add something concerning the first occasion of this controversy, which is briefly shewed, *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 38, to be this : That though the controversy be in itself grammatical, or philological, yet it had its rise from a question theological. For when, at the beginning of the Reformation, divers questions arose about the Scripture and the Church ; the Romanists observing that the punctuation of the Hebrew Text was an invention of the Masorites, they thereupon inferred, that the Text without the points might be taken in divers senses, and that none was tied to the reading of the rabbins ; and therefore concluded, that the Scripture is ambiguous, and

doubtful, without the interpretation and testimony of the Church ; so that all must fly to the authority of the Church, and depend upon her for the true sense and meaning of the Scripture. On the other side, some Protestants, fearing that some advantage might be given to the Romanist by this concession, and not considering how the certainty of the Scripture might be well maintained, though the Text were pointed, instead of denying the consequence, which they might well have done, thought fit rather to deny the assumption, and to maintain, that the points were of divine original ; whereby they involved themselves in extreme labyrinths, engaging themselves in defence of that which might be easily proved to be false ; and thereby wronged the cause which they seemed to defend. Others, therefore, of more learning and judgment, knowing that this position of the divine original of the points could not be made good, and that the truth needed not the patronage of an untruth, would not engage themselves therein ; but granted it to be true, that the points were invented by the rabbins ; yet denied the consequence, maintaining, notwithstanding, that the reading and sense of the Text might be certain without punctuation, and that therefore the Scripture did not at all depend upon the authority of the Church. And of this judgment were the chief Protestant divines, and greatest

linguists that then were, or have been since, in the Christian world ; such as I named before : Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, Musculus, Brentius, Pellican, Oecolampadius, Mercer, Piscator, P. Fagius, Drusius, Schindler, Martinus, Scaliger, De Dieu, Casaubon, Erpenius, Sixt. Amama, Jac. and Ludov. Cappellus, Grotius, &c. And among ourselves, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, Mr. Meade, Mr. Selden, and innumerable others, whom I forbear to name ; who conceived it would nothing disadvantage the cause, to yield that proposition, for that they could still make it good, that the Scripture was in itself a sufficient and certain rule for faith and life, not depending upon any human authority to support it.

XIII. Amongst those who undertook to assert the divine original of the points, the chief was Buxtorf, the father ; a man without doubt of very great skill in the Hebrew, as any in his time, and one whose labours conduced much to the knowledge of that tongue. This man in his *Hebrew Grammar*, edit. 1. brought divers arguments to prove his opinion : and said more for it than any others had done before him, whose authority, grounded upon his great skill in the Hebrew, drew divers, who wanted either leisure or ability to weigh all the reasons on both sides, to embrace his opinion, and to take it for granted ; and the

rather, because it seemed to make more against the Romanists than the other. Afterwards, in the ensuing editions of his Grammar, this Tract about the points was left out; whereupon it was conceived by divers, that he had changed his judgment. And it appears, that divers men of great learning did much oppose his opinion, as Scaliger, Epist. 243. and others; so that it might well be thought he began to stagger in it, and therefore thought fit to forbear the further publishing of it, till he had better considered of the whole matter. After this, Lud. Cappellus, Hebrew Professor at Saumur, a man of great learning and worth, as his writings speak him, published his *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum*, which was set out by Erpenius at Leyden, in 1624. Wherein he largely handles the whole controversy, answered all Buxtorf's arguments to the full, and brought such convincing reasons to the contrary, that few who read this book without prejudice, but subscribed to his opinion; as Erpenius, Ger. Vossius, Rivet, Sixt. Amama, Spanhemius, Festus Hommius, Cotterius, &c. as appears by some of their Epistles, printed in his *Defensio Criticæ*. Yea, divers that formerly were strongly against his opinion, being convinced by evidence in his reasons, joined with them; as Mr. Eyres, late Prebendary of Ely, a man of great skill in this kind of learning; Ar-

nold Bootius, a man of great knowledge in the Hebrew, and a violent opposer of Cappellus's *Critica*. Yea, it was conceived by some, that Buxtorf himself was wavering in his opinion, but that he was loth to retract what he had formerly in print affirmed. After his decease, his son, D. Buxtorf, who succeeded his father in the place of Hebrew Professor at Brasil, out of piety to his father, as is by himself in his *Vindic.* ingenuously confessed, undertook to answer Cappellus, (who had formerly opposed and confuted his opinion about the ancient Hebrew letters,) though not without more sharpness and animosity than could have been wished to have been between Divines, and those both Protestants; which he hath done in a full volume, wherein what he hath performed, I leave to every man's judgment. For my own part, (though he be my worthy and much honoured friend, with whom I have for divers years had friendly intercourse by Letters, notwithstanding our difference of judgment in this and other matters,) yet I cannot assent to his opinion; nor do I find upon perusal of his book, that he hath clearly answered Cappellus's arguments, but that they stand firm and unshaken; nor brought any argument for his opinion, which is not answered by Cappellus; though I believe he hath said as much out of his Hebrew learning, (wherein I think he hath not many fellows

this day living,) as possibly might be alleged. I know that there are [B] some learned men of good note, who partly drawn by Buxtorf's authority, and partly out of fear, lest the Romanists should take advantage by this concession, and partly by their too much adhering to rabbinical tenets, and partly because they never seriously studied the controversy, nor weighed the arguments of both sides in the even balance of an unbiassed judgment, but taking things upon trust without examining the grounds, as the generality of men do in all kinds of learning, have followed Buxtorf's opinion. Yet upon inquiry, it will be found that the most of those of greatest judgment, both in Divinity and Eastern Learning, which this age hath produced, are of contrary opinion. And I must profess, that having occasion, by reason of *this Work of the Bible*, to be acquainted or to keep correspondence with those that are most eminent in this learning, both at home and abroad, I scarce know of any (a few excepted) who are versed more than ordinary in these matters that are not of the same judgment, which I have asserted in the *Prolegomena*.

XIV. This is the true history of the rise and original of this controversy; which though it be mentioned in the *Prolegomena*, yet our Author takes no notice of, but tells another story of it, which we shall briefly consider. He tells us,

p. 248. and Epist. p. 15, 16. "That Elias Levita, the most learned of the Jews of that age, was acquainted with many of the first Reformers, and lived particularly with P. Fagius; that in his Masora Hammat. he broached an opinion not much heard of before, at least not at all received among the Jews, nor for aught that yet appears once mentioned by Christians before, namely that the points or vowels, and accents, were invented by some critical Jews or Masorites living at Tiberias about five or six hundred years after Christ; and that no doubt the man's aim was to reduce the world of Christians to a dependance upon the ancient rabbins for the whole sense of Scripture. *Hinc prima mali labes*: Here lies the first breach in this matter. This fraud being not discovered, and this opinion being broached and confirmed by the great and almost only master of that language, of that age; some even of the first Reformers embraced this fancy. Perhaps Zuinglius had spoken to it before. After a while the poison of this error beginning to operate, the Papists waiting at the mouth of the Reformers, like the servants of Benhadad on Ahab, to catch at every word that might fall from them to their advantage, began to make use of it, &c."

XV. In this discourse, as there are some things true, viz. That Elias was one of the most learned Jews of his age; that he was acquainted with

Fagius; that he maintained the Tiberian Masorites to have been the authors of the points, and proved the same by divers arguments; that divers of the first Reformers were of the same opinion with him: so for all the rest, as it wants all probability of truth, so it may be as easily rejected, as it is affirmed.

XVI. For that Elias Levita was the first that held that opinion, and that it was not mentioned before by any Christians for any thing that yet appears, is far from truth; when as there were sundry Christian writers, (some of which he might have read named, *Proleg.* 3. sect. 38.) who lived long before Elias, some 50, some 100, some 300 years before his name was heard of, who held the same opinion of the points, as Elias did; as Angelus Politianus, Joh. Picus Mirandula, that miracle of his time, Lyra, Paulus Burgensis, besides Raimundus, the Author of *Pugio fidei*, who lived about 1200 years after Christ. Politian thus writes of Pic. Mirand. *Miscell.* cap. 14. "Novitiæ sunt istæ notæ, quibus nunc pro vocalibus utuntur Hebræi, ut idem et comperit, et ostendit, Joh. Picus Mirandulanus, unus omnium prorsus ab omni parte beatissimus, in opere singulari et admirando, quo Psalmos à LXX versos, isto notarum præcipuè argumento, docet Hebraicæ veritati respondere." Besides there lived divers in the same time with Elias, who

knew nothing of him, or scarce had heard of him, as Galatinus, Veltwicus, Zuingleius, Pellican, Luther, and after him many learned men, who held the same opinion, not moved by Elias's arguments or authority, but convinced by the evidence of the things, as Calvin, Mercer, Masius, Boderianus, Jos. Scaliger, Casaubon, Ar. Montanus, Drusius, &c. so that this is a vain brag, that no Christian held the same opinion with Elias before his time. Let our Adversary name so many learned men before Elias, or before the Reformation, that held the points to be of divine original. I doubt it would be hard for him to name any Christian writer that did absolutely affirm the same before that time.

XVII. Nor was Elias the only man among the Jews that held this opinion ; for besides the tacit acknowledgment of the whole nation, shewed by their practice in their Synagogues, using a Copy of the Law, without points, to represent the *airdyagaw* of Moses, which was as themselves confess unpointed ; and the testimony drawn from the ancient cabbalists, and talmudists, who draw none of their mystical expositions from any of the points or accents, which without doubt they would have done, if they had then been in use, as well as they do from the letters : besides these, some of the chief rabbins before Elias have held the same, as is elsewhere shewed out of Kimchi,

Cozri, Ab. Ezra, Jehuda Ching, and others, who expressly affirm that the whole punctuation was the work of the Tiberian Masorites, and upon any doubt in punctuation fly to them; and give this reason of their readings, that the Tiberian Masorites did so point and read it.

XVIII. So that Elias broached this opinion, aiming hereby to reduce the world of Christians to a dependence on the ancient rabbins, is a mere winter story without any ground or reason. For Elias held the points to be part of the oral Law, delivered on Mount Sinai, and continued by tradition, till the points were written and affixed to the Text by the Masorites: and therefore our Author observes elsewhere, p. 250. "That Elias tied all as strictly to the reading by points, as if they had been done by Ezra." Elias therefore did not hold the reading and sense of the Scripture, or the matter of the punctuation to depend upon the rabbins, but only the present forms and figures; and how could he imagine to draw Christians to a belief of that which he did not believe himself, or to a dependance upon the rabbins for the whole sense of the Scripture which himself did not hold? And nothing more shews the vanity of this fancy, than that those Christians that held the same opinion with Elias, do utterly deny that they depend upon the rabbins ancient or modern for the sense of the Scripture. Luther

was far from this ; who, as our Author cites him within a few lines, writes, that the Jews had corrupted the Bible by their points and distinctions ; and Calvin shews, how little he esteemed the authority of the rabbins on Zach. xi. 7. Let him name any place, or one word out of Elias, or any other writer, Jew or Christian, that intimates in the least that he had any such aim, or name one Christian writer, Romanist or Protestant of this opinion, that professed to depend upon the rabbins for the true sense and reading of the Scripture. As groundless is that which follows, that this fraud of Elias was not discovered by the first Reformers, but that they were unawares drawn to embrace his fancy : as though those wise and learned men were such children and ideots, as not to discern the consequence of this opinion ; or of such weak judgments, as to be led by the authority of a Jewish rabbin !

XIX. It remains therefore, that the true original of this question was, as I have shewed ; the controversy arising in the beginning of the Reformation about the authority and certainty of the Scripture, in reference to the Church. And hence it was that this question about the points was not ventilated before the Reformation, and that so few make any mention of it ; because the questions about the Scripture and the Church were not then raised. And that which begun the quar-

rel doth still continue it : some out of fear, lest they should yield any thing disadvantageous to the cause they maintain, holding the points to be of divine original, and among those some embracing that opinion, not because they knew it to be true, but because they conceive it makes more for our cause against the Papists ; amongst which I may justly reckon our Adversary ; who Epist. p. 18. is offended at Dr. Prideaux, “ because, though he took notice of the advantage the Papists make of that opinion of the novelty of points, and of the danger of it, yet, which seems most admirable, himself falls in with them, and maintains the same opinion :” as if we must measure the truth of doctrine, not by *evidence* of reason, but by the *advantage* it brings to our cause ; or must affirm what we know to be false, because it *makes against the Papists !* Others, therefore, who see how groundless those fears are, and knowing that the truth must not be denied, though some pervert it to a wrong end, grant what they see cannot be denied about the original of the points, yet maintain the same conclusion about the certainty and authority of Scripture, upon better and more solid grounds ; and so doth Dr. Prideaux in that Lecture, where he maintains the certainty and authority of the Scripture, and so yields nothing to the Papists, though he grants the points to be the invention of the Masorites.

CHAPTER XI.

- I.** *The Adversary's candour and ingenuity in reciting the arguments against the antiquity of points, leaving out some of the chief, and perverting the rest.* **II.** *The first argument passed by, which is from the testimony of the chief Protestant Divines and Linguists of this age; Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Pellican, Occolampadius, Beza, Mercer, P. Fagius, Chamier, Vossius, Drusius, De Dieu, Schindler, Martinus, Scaliger, Grotius, Schickard, Casaubon, Erpenius, Sixt. Anania, Mayer, Bootius, Spanhemius, Riset, F. Hommius, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, Mede, Eyres, &c.* **III.** *The last argument omitted also in the Considerations from other Eastern Tongues, Syriac, Chaldeæ, Arabic, Samaritan, Persian, &c.* **IV.** *Postellus's testimony.* **V.** *The argument from the unpointed Copy used in the Synagogues to represent the ἀντίγραφον of Moses vindicated.* **VI.** *This argument drew the Reverend Usher and Bootius to this opinion.* **VII.** *The argument from the LXX. and other ancient Translations perverted by the Adversary.* **VIII.** *The other arguments briefly recapitulated. Aben Ezra's words vindicated.* **IX.** *The Adversary's new argument.* **X.** *Answered.* **XI.** *Answered.* **XII.** *Answered.* **XIII.** *Other new arguments answered.* **XIV.** *Another argument.* **XV.** *Answered out of his own words.* **XVI.** *The Tiberian Masorites denied, and yet acknowledged by the Adversary.*

I. This question concerning the points is handled by our Adversary chiefly, Chap. iv. and v. of the *Considerations*; though also, by the by, in

some other places he hath some passages about the same, wherein I shall not need to handle all the arguments *pro* and *con*, having done that already, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 38, 39, &c.—56, to which I must remit the reader. I shall only reply to what he answers to the arguments in the *Prolegomena*, and briefly examine what he pretends to be added by himself *de novo*, to prove this rabbinical fancy. First, let us see how he infringes the arguments in the *Prolegomena*; wherein, I must needs say, he deals as in the rest of his Discourse *pessima fide*, and is far from that candour and truth which he professes: for he leaves out divers of the chief arguments, to which he could give no colourable answer; and for the rest, he either propounds them by half, leaving out that wherein the force of the argument chiefly consists, or perverts the sense, and spoils them in his rehearsing of them; so that I may say of them, as the poet did of his verses,

“ Quem recitas meus est, O Fidentine, libellus,

At male dum recitas, incipit esse tuus.”

The arguments are mine which he pretends to confute; but, by his relating them, he makes them his own; for, as he delivers them, I own them not. I shall therefore desire the reader to suspend his judgment till he have compared them as they are laid down in the *Considerations*, and as they are delivered in the *Prolegomena*; and

then to judge as he shall see cause. I shall at present mention some arguments which he hath wholly omitted, and then give a taste of his candid dealing in the rest.

II. The first argument, sect. 58, is brought from the testimony of the chiefest and most learned Protestant divines, and linguists, which this age hath known, whose words I cite, and the places where they are to be found: for such men I conceive are fittest to judge of these matters. Now of these he takes no notice at all, but uses a prudent preterition, because he knew their names and authority would spoil his whole design, and wipe off all his imputations of making the Scripture uncertain, or introducing of Popery, Atheism, &c. They are Calvin, in *Zach.* xi. 7; Luther, *ad finem libri Schem Ham*; Zuinglius, *Præf. in Esaïam*; Pellican. *Præf. in Pentat.*; P. Fagius, (whom our Adversary reckons, and that justly, among the restorers of the Hebrew tongue, and calls one of the patriarchs and fathers of that learning, *Epist.* p. 15.) *Ad Targum, Genesis* xlvii. 24; Mercer, the oracle of his times for Hebrew learning, and one of exact judgment too in other learning, (which two, as some observe, seldom meet in one subject,) in *Genesis* xvi. 13, and xviii. 3, and *Job* xxvi. 6, and *Amos* ii. 12, *Annot. in Targ. Mal.* 2; Beza, *Lib. de recta pronunciat. ling. Græc. edit. anno*

1587; Piscator, Schol. ad Genesis xv. 8; Chamier. Panstrat. Lib. iv. c. 12, n. 15; Vossius, De Arte Gram. Lib. i. c. 31, et Lib. ii. c. 8; Dru-sius, Ad loca difficil, Pent. c. 25, et de recta lect. linguæ sanctæ, c. 4, Martinius, Technol. Lud. de Dieu, Gram. Lib. i. c. 7; Schindler, frequently in his Lex. Pentaglot. I will add the words of some. Joseph Scaliger, a man admired by most, Epist. 243, which is to Buxtorf the father, writes thus: "De apicibus vocalibus Hebræorum, tam mihi constat rem novam esse, quam eos falli qui natos unà cum lingua putant, quo nihil stultius dici potuit aut cogitari. Quis enim negat Arabismi puncta recens esse inventum, id est, multis annis post obitum impostoris Mahometis? Hodie tamen pueri Turcarum, Arabum, Persarum, et omnium denique Mahumedanorum, sine punctis legere discunt. Eodem modo, Samaritani et Judæi sine ullis punctis, in synnagogis, suis *ἱερῶν διφθέραις* legunt, &c." The noble Grotius was no whit inferior to Scaliger in any kind of learning, who writes thus, in Matthew v. 18, "Libros veteres etiam post Esdram sine punctis vocalibus scribi solitos, quod ita perspicuis argumentis à viris harum rerum doctissimis demonstratum est, ut id amplius inficiari non nisi pertinacium sit." Schickard, a man much versed in all Jewish and rabbinical learning, one who was at first a stout defender of the points, (*strenuus*

licet primò punctorum patronus, for so the words should be, *Prolegom.* iii. sect 50,) yet afterwards, when he was of a riper judgment, speaking of the points and accents, *Lib.* ii. *De jure Regio Hebræorum*, p. 41, saith, “*Quod nil tale uspiam appareat in antiquis libris Judæorum, et valdè miratur superesse qui vocalium antiquitatem seriò credunt.*” For he thinks, “non seriò, sed ad ostendendam eruditionem Rabbinicam, vel aciem ingenii, vel contradicendi studio ita scripsisse, &c.” We see these learned men do not speak doubtfully in this point, but peremptorily, as if the matter were now so cleared, that there is no further place for contradiction. To these I may add *Is. Casaubon*, *Erpenius*, *Sixtin Amama*, *Mayer*, *Arnold Bootius*, a bitter enemy of *Cappellus’s Critica*, *Spanhemius*, *Rivet*, *Festus Hommius*, *Cotterius*, &c. as appeareth by their *Epistles* to *Cappellus*. Amongst ourselves, I could name those of chief account for Eastern learning, now living, public Professors, and others; whose names I forbear, lest the Adversary in his next invective should fall upon them as rudely as he hath done upon the Author of the *Prolegomena*. Yet some I shall not conceal, (who are out of his reach,) the reverend and learned *Usher*, and *Mr. Selden*; both whom I have often heard declare themselves for this opinion; *D. Prideaux*, *Lect.* xii. in *Vesper Comit.* 1627, who mentions

also three more sometime of that University, sect. 4, " Qui in istis studiis versatissimi, Rob. Wakefieldus, Jacobus Cappellus, et Sixtin. ab Amama; qui tres ultimi (*saith he*) superiores duas sententias (*de punctorum antiquitate*) summa cum eruditione et acumine conati sunt refellere." I might add others, as Mr. Mede, Mr. Eyres, late Prebendary of Ely, &c. This argument, though inartificial, yet of great weight, our Author touches not; because he would have it believed that the opinion is singular, and maintained by a few, and that " the generality of learned men in these matters are not infected (as he saith) with this leaven!"

III. As he leaves out the first, so he wholly omits the last; and yet he would have you believe, that he propounds and answers all the arguments in the *Prolegomena*, p. 260. Of what weight it is, and whether it admits any answer, let the reader judge. It is laid down, sect. 48. And it is taken from the other Oriental tongues, which have greatest affinity with the Hebrew, as the Arabic, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, &c. none of which at first had points, nor hath the Samaritan any yet. The Alcoran was at first written without points, as is proved by Golius, and others the chief professors of that language. The like is confessed of the Syriac, Chaldee Paraphrase, and is so clear for the Samaritan, that scarce any

but our Author will affirm the contrary. The Persians have scarce got the use of points as yet, though some of late have begun to make rules of punctuation for that language. In all these languages they have the same letters which of old stood for vowels in the Hebrew ; nor have they in the Arabic, that copious language, since the invention of points, any more than three, which serve for all vowels, *Phatha*, *Damma*, and *Kesra*, by which, with a few general rules, and use, they read distinctly, and pronounce all the five vowels. By those three letters which answer to *Aleph*, *Jod*, and *Vau*, before any points were used in any of the languages, they could distinctly read and understand their Translations of the Bible, and their other books, and attain the sense without ambiguity and uncertainty. And none ever doubted but that the Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos and Jonathan, written about our Saviour's time ; the ancient Translation of the Syriac, written in the first or second century after Christ ; as also the Alcoran among the Mahometans ; were read at first, as they are now, (though not with so much facility,) and yet it is certain that the points were added to them all after the invention of the Hebrew points ; yea, though points be now added to them all, except the Samaritan, yet neither that, nor the Arabic or Syriac, have yet any notes at all of accents ;

and yet those, that are skilled in those languages, know where the accent ought to be in every word and syllable, though no note be affixed, as we see in the Latin, and in all other Vulgar Languages, English, Dutch, French, &c. And in the Greek it is further shewed, sect. 45, out of ancient MSS., as also out of Aristotle, St. Jerom, and old inscriptions, that the Greek anciently had no accents. Angel. Politian, Miscel. c. lviii. and lxxx. mentions some verses of the Sibyls, and the Hymns of Callimachus, written without accents. Our Alex. MS. of the LXX.; that New Testament of Beza, in Cambridge Library; that of the Vatican, and other old MSS. are without accents; and the authors of the Complutense Edition give this reason why they printed the New Testament without accents, because the *αὐτῶν* was so written. Yet we know how useful accents are to distinguish words of ambiguous sense, which differ only in the accents. From all which we infer, that if the right reading and pronunciation might be attained and preserved in those tongues without any pointed vowels, and is now, though as yet they have no accents, some of them; then the same might be done in the Hebrew, by the help of the same letters, *Aleph*, *Jod*, and *Vau*, those *matres lectionis*. I could not yet find in any of the patrons of points any satisfactory answer to this argument; and if our Au-

thor could have given any, I suppose he would not have passed it over without answer more than the rest.

IV. He tells us out of Postellus, that in Jerom's time the Samaritans had points, because he saith, "That the Samaritan and Hebrew letters differ only *figuris et apicibus*, Prolog. in lib. Reg." But he might also have read in Postellus, that the Hebrews had no points, though in his dotage, when he was infatuated with rabbinical and cabalistical fancy, and fell into divers fanatical and heretical errors, among other things, he began to make the points to be part of the oral Law delivered on Mount Sinai, and continued by oral tradition: and his proof out of Jerom for the Samaritan points is as much to the purpose as our Author's proof out of the same Jerom for the Hebrew points, because he speaks of vowels, and saith, *vocalibus in medio perrare utuntur*: when as it is as clear as the sun (as is already shewed) to any that reads Jerom's words, and is so proved, *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 49, that by the apices he means, *Litterarum ductus et summities*, as when he saith, that א and ה *apice tantum differunt*, and in the same place by vowels he means *Aleph, Vau, and Jod*, which he expressly calls vowels, and saith they are not so frequently used in the middle of words, as in the beginning and end.

V. We see what arguments he wholly omits. Let us now see how he deals with the rest ; and how faithfully he propounds them I will instance but in one or two : *Considerations*, chap. 5. sect. 5. p. 267. He there propounds the argument urged, *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 41. " The constant practice of the Jews in preserving in their Synagogue one Book, which they almost adore, without points, is also alleged to the same purpose ; for what do they else hereby, but tacitly acknowledge the points to have a human original ? " Thus our Author. Now let us see how it is propounded in the *Prolegomena*. *Secundò, ex praxi hodierna Judæorum in Synagogis ab ultima antiquitate observata idem evincitur, ubi volumina sacra, quæ populo publicè præleguntur, sine punctis, accentibus, vel versuum distinctionibus exarata sunt, ut secundum morem antiquis temporibus usitatum Mosis ipsum αὐτόγραφον, quod in arca servatum erat, adumbrarent : And after, Hoc volumen non punctatum volunt ipsum Mosis volumen in arca Dei jussu servatum referre, quod (fatentibus plerisque eorum doctoribus) erat punctis destitutum, imò ponunt quidam eorum Mosis ævo, extra controversiam figuræ vocalium et accentuum nondum fuisse, et hac de causa librum illum in Synagogis hodiè sine notis in Mosaici exemplaris memoriam scribi : In hanc rem Rabbīnorum testimonia profert D.*

Buxtorf, &c. Imò probat D. Buxtorf ex Ephodæo et aliis librum legis punctatum apud eos profanum esse, etiamsi punctationem eraserint, et quod liber, in quo versus per duo puncta distinguuntur, profanus est, &c. To this purpose a great deal more may be read in the same place, where also all the evasions and shifts used to avoid the force of that argument are taken away. Now by this we may see, that the main force of the argument lies in this, *not that the Jews use a book in the Synagogue unpointed, (which is all our Adversary propounds,) but that they use one special book of the Law unpointed, for this end and purpose; that it may represent the original Copy written by Moses, and laid up in the Ark, which they acknowledge was written without points; and that this book, if it be pointed, is thereby profaned, and not fit for that use.* Let any man of common reason judge, whether the argument be truly related by him; and whether there be not a vast difference between that in the *Prolegomena*, and this which he propounds; and whether it be not a convincing strong argument to prove by the tacit consent of the Jews, and their ancient practice in their Synagogues, that the Text at first was not pointed. Our Author knew it to be so; and therefore the answer he gives, doth not at all touch that wherein the force of the argument lies. Buxtorf is more ingenuous;

for he confesses that this argument proves that the *αὐτόγραφον* of Moses was without points, but not that the *αὐτόγραφον* of Ezra was unpointed, which yet in that paragraph is further shewed, and that answer taken away, with all the other evasions which our Author brings out of Buxtorf.

VI. This argument I have heard the reverend and learned Usher affirm, was a great motive to draw him to this opinion. And Arnold Bootius (of whom I have spoken before, that he was a great opposer of Cappellus's *Critica*, and sometimes a stiff defender of the antiquity of points,) yet confesseth, "that it doth sufficiently prove the novelty of points." *Epist. contra Cappell. de Text. Hebr. Auctorit. sect. 46.* I should tire myself and the reader, if I should go over the rest of the arguments. I shall only desire the reader, who would be further satisfied, to compare them, as they are in the *Prolegomena*, with our Author's answer; and if he find any one of them either truly related, or fully answered, I will publicly recant what I have said. He shifts off many things with this, *That they are fully answered by Buxtorf*; but those that shall take the pains to look over both, will find that there is not one answer made by Buxtorf which is not taken away in the *Prolegomena*. To go over all now, would be *actum agere*, and would make

this short reply, (as [if] it was intended,) to swell into a great volume.

VII. Yet for a further proof of his candour and love of truth, I shall exercise the reader's patience with one specimen more. An argument, sect. 46. is drawn from the ancient Translations, the Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, &c. *Ex quibus perspicuum est ob defectum punctorum voces quasdam ambiguitate laborasse ; unde aliter interpretati sunt versionum istarum authores, quam hodiè in punctatis codicibus legimus ; cum, si olim punctati fuissent, ambiguitas nulla fuisset ; nec aliter legissent illi quàm in hodiernis exemplaribus legimus. Hoc passim observarunt viri docti in Commentariis suis, aliisque scriptis ; et multa exempla ex LXX aliisque interpretibus colligunt, ubi eadem literæ (sublatis punctis) tam ipsorum versioni quam lectioni hodiernæ inservire possint.* Of this divers instances are brought. Here we see the argument is, *That divers words without points were ambiguous, and capable of diverse senses, and that the same may be read, as the interpreters render them, if the Copies were not pointed, whereas they are now read in another sense, as the Copies are now pointed, there being no change at all in the letters, but only in the points.* Now how doth our Adversary propound this argument? p. 281. "It is further pleaded, that the ancient

Translations, the Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, do manifest that, at the time of their composing, the points were not invented. And that because it is evident in sundry places that they read otherwise, or the words with other points, (I mean as to the force and sound, not figure of them,) than those now affixed." Thus he propounds it, and then answers with a scoff, "That the differences would as well prove they had other consonants, that is, that in their Copies they used, they had other letters and words than *ours*, as *other vowels*." Who sees not here a plain and wilful falsifying of the argument? for the argument is not drawn from all places where the Translators read otherwise than is now read in the Hebrew Copies, but only from such places where the same word with the same letters (being unpointed) might be read and rendered both as they translated it, and as it signifies according to the present punctuation; or that the word consisting of the same letters being without points was ambiguous, or capable of two significations, of which the one was followed by the translator, the other by the punctuator. Now our Author never mentions that wherein the argument consists, *that the word being unpointed is ambiguous and capable both of the signification given in the Translation, and of that which agrees to the modern punctuation, when as, if it had been pointed, the am-*

biguity had been taken away, and they must have read it as they are now read in the pointed Bibles; but tells us of words read with other points differing from those we have now; and thereupon makes his pleasant inference, that we might as well prove by this, that they had other letters and consonants, as vowels and points! It is true, indeed, if the argument had been such as he makes it, taken from all words wherein they differ from the present pointed Copies; but not when only the words unpointed agree with their rendering it, by reason of the ambiguity without points. Buxtorf confesses, this argument seemed to be invincible, *Achilleum*; but as our Adversary propounds it, it is *stramineum*, and merely *ridiculous*; for it is well known and granted often, that these Translations, especially that of the LXX., differ in many places, where the reason cannot be given from the ambiguity of the word destitute of points, but that it is from other causes, of which we have spoken before.

VIII. I will not insist upon the other arguments, as that from the Samaritans who never had any pointed Copies, nor have to this day, but by the help of these three letters *מן* have kept the true reading of their books, by which means they are now also read of others, which is not only said, but proved, though the Adversary answers it with a scoff, *pergula pictoris*. That of the

silence of all the ancients, Jerom, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Josephus, all skilled in Hebrew antiquities, who never mention the name of any point or accent, though they had often occasion to mention them, as is proved by instances in Jerom; to which no answer is given, but a bare denial of what is proved, viz. *that they had no occasion!* The silence of both the Talmuds in all those vast volumes, where there is not one word or tittle of any pointed vowel or accent, (as is acknowledged by Buxtorf himself,) though there was *occasion*, yea a *necessity*, to have mentioned them in some places which are there instanced in, if there had been any then known; to which no answer is given, but a bold general denial *that they had no occasion!* That, before the age of the Tiberian Masorites, there is no mention of any points, by any writer, Jew or Christian, as is largely shewed, and that the antiquity of those books where they are mentioned, as the book *Zohar*, &c. is acknowledged by Buxtorf to be forged, and antedated a thousand years, and so proved by Scaliger and others: that the ancient cabalists draw all their allegories and mysteries from the letters, (as they are called,) not one from the points, which, if they had been known in their times, would have yielded them matter enough, yea more than the letters, for their mystical expositions, as we see in the later

cabalists which have been since the invention of points : (which argument also is quite omitted by the Adversary :) that the Keri and Ketib, which are confessed by all to be for the most part Various Readings gathered out of ancient Hebrew Copies, are all about the letters only, not any about the points, which yet, if the points had then been in use, had been more subject to mistakes of the scribes than the letters, and so more Various Readings might have been gathered out of them than from the difference of the letters : that, in the same Keries and Ketibs, the vowels or points belonging to the marginal word or the Keri, are put under the word in the Text, or the Ketib, to admonish the reader, that the word in the margin must be read, and not the word in the Text : and divers other the like things, which were most absurd to ascribe to the sacred penmen, who, if they had been the Authors of the points, would have put the true reading, (which they could not be ignorant of,) into the Text, with its own proper points, and not have placed it in the margin without points, or have put the points under another word to which they did not belong, with which it cannot be read : Such things (of which divers are observed in the punctuation) are altogether unworthy to be ascribed to the Spirit of God. That the names of the points and accents are all of a late original,

all Chaldee, not any Hebrew ; to which nothing is answered, but that the names were invented by the late Grammarians ; as if before that time they were without names, or could be continued in public use for above a thousand years without names to distinguish them ! That the number and use of them all is uncertain, and not yet agreed upon among the Grammarians, divers of them apparently superfluous ; and yet, in this plenty, divers notes are deficient which are used in other languages ! These things are largely deduced and handled in the same *Prolegomena*, which I do only here name for brevity's sake ; yet I cannot but take notice once more of our Author's sincere dealing in relating our arguments. Aben-Ezra's words, to prove the punctuation by the Tiberian Masorites, are brought, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 4. In his Comment on Exod. xxv. 42. he saith, *that some of the first pointed Copies, pointed by the Tiberian Masorites, were extant in his time. Vidi ego libros, quos examinerint sapientes Tiberiadis, et de quibus juraverunt quindecim ex senioribus eorum, quod diligenter considerarent omnem dictionem, omnem punctationem, et unamquamque vocem, plenam et defectivam ; Et ecce scriptum erat Jod in dictione יוד sed non sic inveni in libris Hispaniæ et Galliæ, nec in ultramarinis.* These

words he recites thus, p. 270. " Nothing can be spoken more directly contrary to what is intended, than that which is urged out of Aben-Ezra in Ex. xxv. 42. where he affirms that he saw some books examined in all the letters and the whole punctuation by the wise men of Tiberias, namely, to try whether it were done exactly according to the pattern they had." Here we see he adds that which makes the words seem to contradict that they were brought for; (*namely, whether it were done according to the pattern they had;*) of which words not one is in Aben-Ezra, nor in the *Prolegomena*! For the meaning of Aben-Ezra is plain, that they examined every word, letter, and point, whether all were rightly pointed according to the true and common pronunciation or reading, which our Adversary makes to be, according to some former pointed Copy; which is utterly contrary to Aben-Ezra's meaning and words; and yet they might re-examine their own Copy, after it was finished; as we know it is usual for those that are careful, and exact in writing, to review what they have written, that they may amend such errors and faults as have escaped them before they make it public. If he may be allowed thus to add and detract and change what he pleases, he may easily make any argument worth nothing, and to prove

the contrary to what it is brought. Thus he falsifies the words of Aben-Ezra, and the argument drawn from them in the *Prolegomena*.

IX. Leaving his answers to our argument against the points, let us see what arguments he brings for their divine original. Here he refers us to Buxtorf; and I do likewise refer the Reader to Scaliger, Sixtin Amama, Dr. Prideaux, Vossius, and others; especially to Cappellus's *Punctuationis Arcanum*; and also to the *Prolegomena*; where, whether Buxtorf's argument be all answered, let the reader judge. Something more our Author pretends to add, which hath been omitted by others, p. 252, &c. The argument, though somewhat intricate, and obscure, as he propounds it, seems to be this. *That all Grammars must be made after the language, and gathered by observations out of the language, which are reduced to rules of art, and what is anomalous or irregular is excepted from the rest; and that if the points and accents were invented, and added to the Text, being no part of the language, then there must be some general rules of art constituted and made before they could be added to the Text, according to which they were fixed and added; and so there must be some Grammar or art according to which they were contrived and made. Now that this could not be, he proves by two reasons. 1. Be-*

cause there are so many words anomalous, irregularly pointed, contrary to the analogy of Grammar, which they might have made all regular to their own great ease, and advantage of the language, facilitating the learning of it.

2. Because the Masorites, who curiously have reckoned up every word in the Scripture, and the irregularity of every letter and tittle, never mention any of those catholic rules, by which they or their masters proceeded in the fixing of these points; nor do any footsteps of that art appear in the Masora, or any learned Jew, which was their rule or canon in affixing the points; but all the Grammarians collect their observations and rules, as they could, by particular instances out of the punctuations already made.

X. This objection, at least in part, was made long since by Buxtorf the elder, and the answer given long ago by Cappellus in his *Arcanum*, l. ii. c. 10, 11. 19, &c. and lately in the *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 54. For the first, about words anomalous, he may find, among other things, this answer given: That they were so pointed by the Masorites, *non consilio, sed casu*, by casual mistake, which if they had observed, they would have pointed all regularly; and that in such a long work this might easily happen, that some words might escape their diligence, which the succeed-

ing Masorites, supposing out of reverence to their predecessors, whose diligence and learning they so admired, that no error could befall them, gathered and noted; conceiving that some great mysteries lay hid in these *anomalous punctuations*, like as about some *letters*, as *Mem clausum in medio*, Is. ix. 7. and *Nun medium in fine*, Job xxxviii. 1, (of which, *Prolegom.* iii. and viii. 7.) which were at first, casual mistakes of the scribes, as is thought by the learnedest Protestant divines, observations were made by those that came after; as if they had been purposely so written by the sacred penmen, to signify some great mysteries. Besides, it may be answered, that the former Masorites pointed these words irregularly, according to that reading and pronunciation which they were taught by their Masters, (whose words they accounted as oracles,) though against the analogy of Grammar; and that the following Masorites, finding such anomalous punctuation, left all as they found them, only made observations thereupon. For the Masora, as is proved in the *Prolegomena*, and is confessed by all, was not written all at one time, nor the work of one man, or perfected in one age, but done by several persons, at several times; some distinguishing the verses by two points, which seems to have been the first work; others adding points to signify vowels; others,

accents; others gathering observations out of what was done by those before them.

XI. To the second, there are general Grammar rules in every tongue, and a particular Grammar analogy in each particular tongue, before it be reduced into rules. These, no doubt, were considered by the Masorites in their punctuation; and accordingly they pointed the Text according to such rules for the reading, and pronunciation, as they were taught by their masters; and invented the names and figures of the vowels and accents, which they have left to posterity; though the later Grammarians herein differ from the ancients about the names, nature, number, and use. The way and manner how it is most like they proceeded, is excellently set down by Cappelus, Arcan. lib. i. c. 17, 18. Some general rules, which may be called grammatical, when they went about this work, they devised and agreed upon; which, by succeeding Grammarians, were perfected and reduced into a body. And though it be generally thought that no Hebrew Grammar was made above five or six hundred years ago, yet Maimon, speaking of divers Grammarians that were before him, mentions R. Saadiah, who died about the year of Christ 940, to be the first Grammarian; which was not long after the Masorites had completed their work, as some observe; so that the rules which the Maso-

rites observed or made in their punctuation, are expressed in the Grammars which were made after their punctuation. Besides, if this argument were of any force, it might prove the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, &c. to have been always pointed, and the points coeve with the languages ; which yet is denied by all that are skilful in those languages ; for all their books consisted at first only of consonants, as they are called, as well as the Hebrew ; and the points were added long after ; and Grammars composed after all, and gathered out of pointed Copies. The Chaldee Paraphrase was not at first pointed, as is proved by Buxtorf in his Chaldee and Syriac Grammar ; and after it was pointed, no Chaldee Grammar was made by any of a long time. Elias Levita found it so hard a task, that he gave it over after he had begun ; and Munster was the first that reduced that tongue into grammatical rules. And if it be said that they pointed the Paraphrase according to the punctuation of Ezra and Daniel, which they suppose to have been always pointed, I deny that those few Chapters could give direction for the punctuation of the Paraphrase, or the whole Chaldee tongue, (of which a small part is expressed in those Chapters.) Neither can this be said of the other tongues, the Arabic, Syriac, &c. of which Grammars were made long after the punctua-

tion ; and yet it is granted, that their points were not coeve with the languages. Let our Adversary, therefore, shew how the Grammars of those tongues were made after the punctuation, and so he may answer his own objection about the Hebrew.

XII. He objects further, p. 255, 256, " That if the punctuation had been by the Masorites, they would have falsified and corrupted the Prophecies of Christ ; which they might easily have done, by placing the points and accents so as to pervert the sense and coherence of the words, as in Is. liii. where, according to the present punctuation, they make incomparably more for the Christian faith, than any ancient Translations." This is answered before, where it is shewed, that the Masorites did not point the Text, *pro arbitrio*, as they pleased, (as our Author would make us say ;) but according to the true and accustomed reading, to which they were tied. This argument is brought in the *Prolegom.* vii. to prove that these Jews did not, *de industria*, corrupt the Hebrew Text ; because then they would have corrupted those places concerning Christ, or where the chief mysteries of Christian religion are mentioned, which we see they have not meddled with : but it proves not but that the Masorites might fix the points to the Text, the true reading whereof they could not alter, but

would have been presently discovered by the Christians ; nor would they attempt it, the whole nation being so zealous for the letter of the Text, that, as Josephus saith, they would rather die a thousand deaths, than wilfully falsify the least tittle.

XIII. Again, p. 292, he saith, “ That though the points might be affixed while the tongue was common and vulgar, yet after it had ceased to be vulgar for a thousand years, to think that points could be then fixed to the Text, and the reading continued so long by tradition, is to build castles in the air, &c.” But to this we have already answered at large ; and shewed that the knowledge of the tongue, and the true reading continued among the Priests and Scribes after it ceased to be vulgar, who might with as much ease point the Text, (it being the same to them as when it was vulgar,) as they might have done whilst it was commonly spoken by the people ; and that it was not continued by oral tradition ; for they had the written Text for their ground, as is already declared.

XIV. But there is one argument more which he propounds, and follows at large, p. 225, 226, &c. (for we must find out his reasons, as they are here and there scattered, without any method.) *This he is sorry that others, out of their respect*

to the rabbins have passed by. It is taken from the consideration of the persons supposed to be the authors of the punctuation, who were men so unfit for so divine and admirable a work, that, of all the fables in the Talmud, he knows none more incredible than this story, viz. That men,

- 1. who were no part of the Church, or people of God, possessors only of the letter, &c.*
- 2. Who were remote from the right understanding of the Word of God, desperately engaged against the truth,—enemies to the Gospel.*
- 3. Under the special curse and vengeance of God.*
- 4. Feeding themselves with vain fables, and mischievous devices against the Gospel, labouring to set up a new religion, under the name of the old.*
- 5. Profoundly ignorant in all manner of learning and knowledge.*
- 6. Addicted to monstrous figments, yea, for the most part idolaters and magicians, &c. should be the authors of so great and excellent a work, of such unspeakable usefulness, &c.*

This argument he spends near twenty pages upon, by a fierce invective against the Jews and rabbins, which he after contracts to these heads, p. 240, 241, &c. And to strengthen this argument, he saith, p. 2, 3. " That the Masorites (the supposed inventors of the points) cannot by any story or other record be made appear, that they ever were in rerum

natura, &c." and p. 304. "they came, no man knew whence, and no man knows when and where."

XV. To which argument I answer, first, that concerning the usefulness of the present points, (which is acknowledged,) though I am none of them that are affected with novelties, or delight in changes, yet I am of the opinion of those learned men, who do not conceive the present punctuation to be so excellent and complete a work, but that it might be much bettered, and made more useful; and that there are some things, (especially accents,) which might be omitted, of some of which none can give a full account; and the rest might be reduced to a smaller number, and be made more facile and useful: some other things also might be added which are useful in other languages, and wanting in this, as hath been already shewed by divers learned men. Secondly, that notwithstanding all this which is said against the Jews and rabbins, I shall not need to go further for answer than the objector's own words, after a few pages, when his heat was something allayed, p. 251. "That yet they were men still, who were full able to declare what defect they found to be so, and what they found to be otherwise, and that it cannot be thought reasonable that so many men, living in so many several ages, at such vast distance one from another, who some

of them, it may be, never heard of the names of other some of them, should conspire to cozen themselves, and all the world besides, in a matter of fact, nothing at all to their advantage." I apply it thus: That notwithstanding all that is said against them, yet they were able to declare the reading of the Text, received and continued amongst them; and that it cannot be imagined they should devise any other or new reading, which should be received by all that lived in so many several ages, and at such vast distances, and should conspire together to cozen themselves, and all the world in a matter of fact, tending nothing at all to their advantage. Thus we see the same hand pulling down in one page what it had set up in another. For if they might be meet witnesses for the divine original of points, as he affirms, notwithstanding what is said against them, why might they not also be meet witnesses in testifying and declaring the common and received reading, then in use, and in expressing it by their punctuation?

XVI. I may add, that notwithstanding all that is said of them, they were most zealous, (in their greatest apostasy and infidelity,) about the letter of the law, and the true reading of it, even to superstition, and so continue: they did never *hævere in cortice* more than since their rejection by God. And though generally they be men of

no great learning in other matters, yet about the reading of the Law, and right pronouncing of it, and the knowledge of every tittle, they were diligent, even to admiration; and accounted it a great part of their learning, that they could so exactly read the Law, and teach others to read it. Lastly, for the Tiberian Masorites, though it be not much material by whom, or when, the points were fixed, or at what place they lived, so it be granted they were not of divine original, nor known till after the Talmud; yet notwithstanding our Author's declamation, it is most probable that the Tiberian Masorites were the first inventors, and more probable than any thing by him said to the contrary; nay, though he denies that ever there were any such men *in rerum natura*, as we have seen already, p. 243, yet, forgetting what he hath said, and contradicting himself as usual, he tells us, p. 223, "that there was formerly a School of the Jews, and learned men, famous at Tiberias is granted," and, p. 240. "The Tiberian Masorites (the supposed inventors of the points) were men living after the finishing of the last Talmud." And, p. 271. he cites and approves that saying of Azarias, "who ascribes the restoration of the points to their use, after they had been disused, to the Tiberian Masorites." And p. 270. "That by receiving the punctuation from the Tiberians, the continuation of it in that

School, not the invention of it, is intended by Aben-Ezra ;" so that it seems, that these Tiberian Masorites, who never were in *rerum natura*, and lived no man knows where, nor when, are found out at last to have a School at Tiberias, and to have continued and restored the punctuation there, though they invented it not !

CHAPTER XII.

I. *The consequences, inferred from the novelty of punctuation, not proved at all, but taken as granted by the Adversary.* **II.** *His false suppositions.* **III.** *In stead of reasons, his earnest wishes, of taking the points out of the Bible. The accents, &c. out of the New Testament.* **IV.** *The consequences, &c. cannot be proved by the Adversary, nor by any Papists, Atheists, &c.* **V.** *A challenge to them all, to prove their consequences, from the novelty of the punctuation, as stated in the Prolegomena.* **VI.** *The Adversary proved guilty of the said consequences.*

I. I SHOULD now come to the consequences which our Author would infer from our opinion about the points, viz. *That if they were invented, and fixed to the Text, by the Masorites, then the reading and sense of the Scripture becomes uncertain and arbitrary, and the supreme authority thereof in all matters of faith and life is quite overthrown, and we must depend either upon the fidelity and diligence of the rabbins for the true reading and sense of the Scripture, or fly to an infallible judge, and turn Papists, or else turn plain Atheists, or fanatic Anti-scripturists, by rejecting the Scripture altogether.* These are his inferences, p. 147, 161, and Epist. p.9; and 25. But the invalidity of this argu-

ment is already shewed at large in what we have premised in the foregoing Chapter, as also *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 5. 31. For it is proved that the reading and sense is the same before and after the punctuation, and not any way depending upon the authority of the rabbins, or of the Church, or of an infallible judge. For supposing what we have already proved: 1. That the Hebrew tongue never wanted its vowels, ם ן ן, which were used as vowels before the invention of points, as in other Eastern languages; and that, where they were wanting, the connection of the words, with the antecedents and consequents, together with the continued custom and use, did determine the sense, and make the Text as it is now, and free from ambiguity. 2. That the rabbins did not point the Text, *pro arbitrio*, as they pleased, but according as the true and usual reading continued always among them, and derived from the sacred penman, and that it is not lawful now for any to alter or reject the present reading at pleasure, unless a better reading can be clearly proved, or that some error hath crept in, contrary to the ancient writing;—all these consequences vanish to nothing.

II. Now for proof of these consequences our Author brings nothing, though *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, but takes these things for granted, which the *Prolegomena* do utterly deny, as alto-

gether false and untrue, viz. 1. *That there are no vowels among the Hebrew twenty-two letters, and so that the Hebrew had no vowels before the invention of points.* 2. *That the Masorites did point the Text, as they pleased, and so that the reading according to the present punctuation depends merely upon the skill and fidelity of those rabbins.* 3. *That it is lawful for any to alter the reading at pleasure, and to accept or reject the points, as no part of the Text.* 4. *That it was not possible to continue the true reading and sense of the Text after the language ceased to be vulgar, without the points:* All which are so many mistakes, and not only rejected by the Author of the *Prolegomena*, but by evident arguments proved already to be assertions void of truth; so that these props being taken away, all his building falls to the ground.

III. Now in stead of reasons which are none, our Adversary tells us of his own earnest wishes and endeavours, p. 221. "That he had rather this work of the Bible, and all works of the like kind, were out of the world, than that this our opinion should be received with the consequences which unavoidably attend it;" and p. 244. "that he would labour to the utmost to have the punctuation taken out of the Bible, if it were the invention of the Masorites, nor should he (in its

present station) make use of it any more." Thus do violent men run from one extreme to another : either he must have the punctuation to be of divine authority, or else he must labour to the utmost to have it out of the Bible. But these wishes and violent expressions are no proofs with such as will not swallow his opinions, by a blind implicit faith, as oracles ! Our opinion of the points hath been and is already received amongst most of those that excel in this kind of learning, and among the most eminent and judicious Protestant divines, who are best able to judge of things of this nature ; nor will it find the less acceptance among learned and judicious men, because of his hot passionate declaiming against it ; for heat and passion are but weak proofs of the truth of any opinion ; they are like water that bears up the lightest things, and lets the heaviest sink to the bottom ; and are indeed no better arguments than that of him in Scaliger, who would prove that by laying a wager which he could not make good by sound reason ! If he be so earnest to have the Hebrew points taken away, (supposing they be not of divine original,) why doth he not labour the same for the accents, notes of aspiration, and distinction of sentences in the Greek Text of the New Testament ? it being certain that they were not in use when the New Testament was written, as we have proved *Proleg.* iii. sect. 45. and in

the precedent Chapter ; and that the Greek Text is subject to ambiguity in diverse places by the absence of the accents and notes of distinction, Whether doth he like it better to have the New Testament printed with accents and distinctions, as it now is, or to have it without any, as it is in the Complutense Bible, which is so printed as I have shewed, that it might the better represent the Original Copies which were written first without accents ?

IV. As for the advantage which Papists, Atheists, &c. make of this with his intimation, *As if all were looking towards Rome that hold this opinion*, I shall not need to say more than hath been said already ; when from the Various Readings he would have inferred the same consequence on the behalf of Papists, &c. It is enough to shew the vanity of this surmise, that the greatest and learnedest defenders of the Protestant cause, and of the authority of the Original Texts, have been, and are of this judgment. What some Romanists infer upon this principle is nothing, unless it could be proved justly to follow, which neither they nor this author are ever able to do. He might have taken notice that his objection is answered *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 51, where this inference which some of that Church make of the ambiguity of Scripture unpointed, and that instance of Morinus, in the word דבר, which with-

out points may be read eight several ways, and hath so many significations, is taken away. Nor do all those of Rome urge this consequence. There are not wanting among them who maintain, that the Text unpointed is certain, and not ambiguous ; as Simeon de Muis, Joh. de Espieres, and others. And although many of them argue against the Scripture in general, as our Author doth, that the Text unpointed is uncertain, and therefore no fit rule of faith and life ; yet I do not remember that, in any particular controversy between them and us, they urge any one place of Scripture for their cause, upon the uncertainty of the reading without points ; which plainly shews that there is no such uncertainty in the Text unpointed, as is pretended by them and their Author ; for they allege all places according to the common reading of the Hebrew, or the Vulgar Latin. Let our Adversary, therefore, name any place in particular, where the ambiguity of the Text without points makes for them or against us, or where they have advantage upon this ground in any particular case controverted ; or else this consequence will appear a mere cavil.

V. I do, therefore, appeal to all rational men, and do challenge our Adversary with all the rabble of those he mentions, as joining with him in this inference, all the Papists, Atheists, fanatic persons, &c. in the world, to make good their

consequence of the uncertainty of Scripture from that opinion of the punctuation, as it is declared and limited in the *Prolegomena*, viz. *That if the points were fixed by the Masorites to the Hebrew Text (that is, as the case is stated,) understanding only the forms and figures of the points, not the force and virtue of the vowels and accents themselves, which is acknowledged to have always been ; and that they did neither point the Text at pleasure, but according to the true reading commonly received to which they were tied ; not that any now may at pleasure reject this reading by the points ;—that upon this proposition thus stated, it doth necessarily follow, that the Scripture is dubious and uncertain, and cannot be a sure rule for faith and life : This consequence if they can prove, I will retract my opinion and acknowledge my error : But if our Adversary cannot prove it, I expect he should do the like.*

VI. But now as it was observed before about the Various Readings, so here the same may be observed about this question of the points, that the Adversary unawares pleads the cause of them whom he would seem to oppose, and whilst he would make others guilty of promoting Popery, Atheism, &c. himself is most deeply guilty by his own arguments. For he grants the consequence which they urge, to be necessary and true, as

will appear, if it be brought into a Syllogism, which runs thus. *If the points and accents be not of divine original, but affixed by the Masorites to the Text, then the Scripture is uncertain, capable of divers senses, and therefore no fit rule for faith and life, &c. But they were affixed by the Masorites to the Text, and are not of divine original. Ergo !*

The conclusion of the Syllogism we all agree is false and impious, and therefore one or both propositions must of necessity be false. I should deny both, if it could stand with evidence of truth, but granting that which cannot be denied, and which the ablest and learnedest men that the Protestant cause ever had grant to be true, I do with the same persons deny the major or the consequence, and lay the weight of the cause upon it ; which all the Papists, Atheists, and *Considerators* in the world, are never able to prove. The Adversary on the other hand, I. denies the *minor*, which his opposites may with more probability make good, than he can the contrary, they having not only the learned of their own Church, but also the best learned Protestants (as I have said) affirming the same with many strong reasons, which to any man unbiassed will seem more concluding than those brought for the other opinion. And 2. he grants the consequence, yea proves it as well as he can, (which all sober

Christians, and all that have not joined hands with Papists, Atheists, &c. deny,) from which that conclusion inevitably follows ; *that the Scripture is uncertain, and therefore of no authority in matters of faith, &c. !* Let all men, therefore, judge who it is that pleads the cause of Papists, &c. He who denies the consequence, or he that grants it, and labours to make it good. Thus he is caught in his own net, and unexcusable before God and man, by betraying the cause which he pretends to defend, and by doing that himself of which he unjustly accuses another.

CHAPTER XIII.

- I. II. *The charge, that all our knowledge of the Hebrew is derived from the Septuagint.* III. *Answered.* IV. *This, if it were true, makes nothing against the Hebrew Text.* V. *The last charge, that the present Hebrew character was brought in by Esdras, who used the Assyrian, and left the old character to the Samaritans. The authority of the Hebrew Text the same it was, because Esdras did this by Divine authority. The Greek manner of writing changed in the New Testament since the Apostles' times.* VI. *By whom this question hath been handled.* VII. *Buxtorf not absolutely for the present character, though he argues for it.* VIII. *His modesty, and the Adversary's confidence.* IX. *Arguments for the antiquity of the Samaritan character. All that can be brought in a matter of fact, of such antiquity. Testimonies of ancient writers, Eusebius, Saint Jerom, Bede.* X. *Both the Talmuds, diverse rabbins.* XI. *The shekels or ancient coins of the Kings of Israel stamp't with Samaritan characters.* XII. *The exceptions of the Adversary.* XIII. *Answered.* XIV. *His fancy about the Samaritan letters confuted.* XV. *The fiction of a twofold character exploded.* XVI. XVII. *His other exceptions answered.* XVIII. *The true character of the Considerations. Advice to the Adversary if he thinks fit to reply.* XIX. *The Conclusion.*

I. **W**E have gone through the chief heads of our Adversary's charge; the Various Readings and the pointing of the Hebrew Text. We shall

with more speed pass over the rest, by which he pretends the worth and esteem of the Hebrew Text is depressed, as the deriving our knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue from the Translation of the LXX. and making the Samaritan Characters to be the old Hebrew letters ; of which now we shall speak briefly.

II. For the first p. 206. He saith, " That the Author of the *Proleg.* grants that all our knowledge of the Hebrew is taken from the Translation of the LXX., as he is quoted to that purpose by Morinus, Præf. ad Opusc. Samarit." The same is twice mentioned in his Epistle, p. 10, and 26. which he disproves by the example of Jerom, who had his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue by the help of Hebrews, and by the Tiberian Masorites, who pointed the Text according to the tradition of them that spake the language in its purity, and could not have the knowledge of it from the Seventy.

III. For answer, first, why doth not our Adversary name the place in the *Biblia Polyglotta*, where these words are to be found ? or if they be not there any where to be found, (as indeed they are not,) why doth he put these among the heinous crimes with which he charges the *Prolegomena*, affirming elsewhere, p. 1, 52, 160. " that had not these tenets been published with the *Biblia Polyglotta*, thereby to gain authority by

that work, he would not have meddled with them?" Now this, I am sure, is no where in the *Prolegomena*, or in the *Biblia Polyglotta*. And if this be not, why will he upon the words of Morinus, (a petulant Jesuit, as he will make him,) why, I say, will he accuse any upon such a man's testimony as his, whom he calls in his railing rhetoric, "an infamous person, a barking dog," &c. when as he could find no such thing in the *Biblia Polyglotta*? But the truth is, Morinus doth not say, that this opinion of Cappellus is approved in the *Biblia Polyglotta*, (which our Adversary very well knew,) but that "in a dissertation, or preface to an introduction to the reading of the Oriental Tongues, he approves that opinion of Cappellus." Now what is this to the *Biblia Polyglotta*? and yet the Author of the dissertation doth neither in that dissertation, nor any where else, wholly subscribe to Cappellus's opinion, whatsoever Morinus saith, which this Author could not be ignorant of: his words are only these, speaking of the use of the Greek Sept. *Exigua esset absque hac (versione τῶν ὁ) linguæ Hebrææ cognitio*. There is some difference between *nulla*, and *exigua*; the former he never said, for he knows, and frequently affirms, that though the Hebrew ceased to be vulgarly spoken after the return from Babylon, yet there remained always, among the priests and

learned of that nation, the knowledge of the tongue, which they continued and taught to their children and posterity: yet for the knowledge of it among Christians, the greatest part of their knowledge of the Hebrew came by the Greek Translation of the LXX. that being the only Translation of any Hebrew book known among either Christians or Jews; and this was made shortly after it had ceased to be vulgar, and therefore without this *exigua foret*, amongst Christians, the knowledge of the Hebrew had been little: for there is no book extant, written in pure Hebrew, save only the Bible, nor any Translation of it before Christ, save that of the LXX. and therefore, as Clenard and Erpenius attained the Arabic by the Translations out of that tongue in the Nebiense Psalter, and other Arabic books; so I doubt not, but that, out of this Translation, the Hebrew tongue might be learned. And therefore for those that wanted the teaching and instruction of Jewish Masters, their knowledge of the Hebrew would be little, without this Translation. And no question but Origen in his Hexapla, and Jerom in his Translation, made great use of that Translation to this end; though I know very well, that Jerom made use also of divers Jewish rabbins, and amongst others, of some Tiberian doctors of note, as him-

self affirms, who were not long before those Tiberians that pointed the Hebrew Text.

IV. But now what is this, (supposing all were true what he affirms,) to the depressing of the Hebrew Text, or to prove the uncertainty of the Scripture, or that the Text is corrupt? I see not any colour of such a consequence; nor doth our Adversary bring any reason to prove it. It is true, Arnold Bootius, in his furious invective against Cappellus, takes hold of his words, and would prove this to be false; but infers no such thing as this Author doth, as if hereby the Hebrew Text were endangered; which if he could with any colour have made good, I am sure he would not have omitted.

V. We come now to the last of these things which tend to the depression of the esteem of the Hebrew Text; which, among others, is reckoned by our Adversary in the first place, p. 205. viz. "That the present Hebrew character is not that used by God himself, and in the old Church before the captivity of Babylon; but it is the Chaldean, the other being left to the Samaritans." The same is also mentioned, Epist. p. 7. This [C] question is handled at large, *Proleg.* iii. sect. 29—38. I might forbear to speak any thing more thereof, because it makes nothing at all against the Hebrew Text, though we make the present

character to have been the Assyrian, and that the old Hebrew Character was left to the Samaritans ; for seeing that we make Eedras and his associates the authors of this change, when they restored and settled the Canon of the Old Testament, and it is confessed by all, that what they did, was by Divine authority ; hence it is evident, that the authority of the Hebrew Text suffers nothing by this change of the character, but that it is in this respect the same it was before : no more, nor so much as the change of the Greek character, and of the manner of writing in capital letters, without accents, spirits, or distinctions of words or sentences, as the first Copies of the New Testament were written, (as we have elsewhere shewed, *Prolegom.* iii. sect. 45. and Chap. 11. of this Treatise,) into that form which is now in use, derogates from the Greek Text of the New Testament ; because this change was not made by any prophets or men inspired as the other was ; and therefore our Author had no colour of reckoning this amongst those things which derogate from the Hebrew Text, but that he was willing to catch at any thing which might seem to impair the esteem of the *Biblia Polyglotta* amongst his English readers, for whose misinformation these *Considerations* were contrived ; unless he thinks with some superstitious Jews, that there is some peculiar sanctity in the form or fashion of the charac-

ter. Nevertheless, because he hath thought fit to say something of this argument, though he touch not the tenth part of what is said in the *Prolegomena*, because he would fain seduce the ignorant reader into an opinion, as if great wrong were hereby offered to the Hebrew Text, I shall therefore briefly add something by way of answer.

VI. This question hath been so clearly and fully handled by Scaliger, Drusius, Vossius, Cappelus and others, that I believe there are few that have read and weighed the arguments of both sides, who think the present character to be the old Hebrew letter. It is true, Buxtorf junior wrote a Tract upon this subject, wherein he doth not absolutely defend as a certain truth, that the present character is that which was used at first, though he brings all the arguments he could to this purpose; but only to shew, as he saith, sect. 4. that this opinion is not so absurd, or apparently false, as Scaliger, Drusius, and other great Hebricians would have it; but that it may be probably defended. To this Dissertation of his Cappelus wrote an answer, 1645, (which I conceive began the quarrel between these two learned men, which hath since been continued with too much eagerness about other matters,) wherein all his arguments are answered, and the contrary reasons urged and defended, with that evidence

and clearness that Buxtorf hath not made any reply since that time, that I have seen ; though he hath since written against Cappellus upon other subjects ; being, it may be, convinced of the error of that opinion, which he thought formerly not improbable ; which if it be so, as his ingenuity is to be commended, so the confidence of our Adversary is to be condemned, who is peremptory in a question, which, as it plainly appears, he never seriously considered, not sticking (after his usual manner) to call this opinion a fiction, and a mere fable, though it be in a manner demonstrated, and hath as clear and evident arguments for it, as any thing of this nature is capable of, viz. testimonies both of ancient Jews and Christians, both the Talmuds, and the ocular demonstration of old Jewish coins daily digged up out of the ruins of Jerusalem, and other places, stamped by the Kings of Israel before the Captivity ; besides reasons and the authority of most, if not of all the best skilled in Jewish antiquities, and Hebrew learning, of later times ; as is shewed at large in the [D] same *Prolegomena*, and appears by the figures of the coins themselves, which are engraven, and printed in the *Apparatus to the Biblia Polyglotta*, in a Tract of the ancient Hebrew coins.

VII. Buxtorf confesseth, sect. 2. “ that though both opinions have their patrons, yet the business

is brought to that pass, that the opinion of the novelty of the present character hath gotten far more to assert it, and those of chiefest note for their learning in this kind, who are some of them so peremptory in the cause, that they think those, that dissent, *nec ferendos, nec audiendos esse*; and that the great fame and esteem of their exquisite Hebrew learning, hath drawn the most unto that opinion. He adds withal, sect. 4. "Equidem cum nemine super hac re acrius contendere, aut disceptare mihi est propositum." And sect. 5. confesseth ingenuously, that he dares not hope, "se hoc assecuturum, ut omnibus satisfaciatur, ultimamque literarum Hebraicarum antiquitatem, ἀναμυρίστῆρις probet ac persuadeat, &c." only he hoped to shew that the other opinion was not so absurd, as that the defenders of it ought to be accounted half divines, or half men, or sceptics that doubt of all things, or plain asses, as Scaliger and Drusius had styled them. Yet here is one who is so confident and peremptory, that he dares style that opinion which is generally held by most learned antiquaries, a mere fable and a fiction; hereby verifying that saying, *Qui pauca videt, citò judicat*; and that men, who are rash and heady in their decisions, are seldom free from great errors.

VIII. The arguments of both sides are propounded, *Prolegom.* iii. which I shall not need

to repeat, but shall refer the reader thither for fuller satisfaction; and the rather, because the Adversary brings nothing to the contrary, but his own conjectures, or bare affirmations, without proofs. (What he saith of the Samaritans is already answered in its proper place.) I shall only recapitulate what is largely handled in the *Prolegomena* concerning these characters.

IX. All the arguments that can be brought to prove a matter of fact, especially of such antiquity, can be no other than testimonies, especially of ancient and credible writers, who might best know the truth, the remaining relics and monuments of such characters; with the judgment of such of later times, who have been most versed in things of this nature, and therefore are best able to judge: all which we have here. Among ancient writers, we have the testimony both of Christians and Jews: of Christians, Eusebius, Jerom, and Bede, men best skilled, of any in their times, in Jewish and other antiquities; who affirm it as a thing certainly known, and not to be doubted of, that Eadras changed the old character into that we now use, leaving the other to the Samaritans; whose testimonies, especially Jerom's, is so express, and the thing so frequently affirmed in his works, that they admit no evasion; as appears in the [E] same *Prolegomena*, where all the subterfuges, brought to evade the

force of the words, are plainly confuted and taken away. And when we name these, we name all that among the ancients have said any thing on this subject; nor is there any one ancient writer produced, that hath said any thing to the contrary.

X. To the testimonies of ancient Christians, we have added the testimonies of both the Talmuds, which with the Jews are of sacred and unquestionable authority. The Babylonish Tract. Sanhedr. sect. 2. The Jerusalem Tract. Megil. sect. 1. affirming that the Law was first given, בכתב עברי *Scriptura Hebræa*, and afterwards, in the days of Esdras, it was written, אשורית בכתב *Scriptura Assyriaca*; as also the testimonies both of ancient and modern rabbins; (who though some of them, especially of the latter, that they may maintain the antiquity of the present character against the Samaritans, feign, among other things, that Moses's *αὐτόγραφον* was written in the modern character, which they call sacred; and that the rest of the Copies for common use were written in the common character, which is retained by the Samaritans; and that the use of the sacred character was only restored by Esdras, after it had been long disused;) yet all agree in this, that the present Samaritan characters were anciently used among the Jews, and that some Copies were written in them; which testimony of

the Jews against themselves, in a matter which, they think, tends to the disparagement of their character, is an undeniable proof, that only the evidence of truth forced this confession from them.

XI. But above all, that of the shekels, or ancient coins, heretofore, and lately, digged up about Jerusalem, and other adjacent places, stampd on the one side with *Aaron's rod*, and the other with the *pot of Manna*, and the inscription of *מִשְׁכָּן מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלֹתִים Hierusalem sancta* on the one side, and *שִׁלְיֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Siclus Israelis* on the other, if there were no other argument, were enough to demonstrate to all, that do not wilfully shut their eyes, the truth of our assertion; as is there proved at large. Arias Montanus, and Postellus, having got some of these coins, esteemed them as great treasures and undoubted proofs of the ancient Jewish coins, and also of their weights. That they were coined by the Samaritans, cannot be imagined, because they were never possessed of Jerusalem, nor would have given the title of *Sancta* to that city, which they did abominate; and that they were before the Captivity, Arius Montanus, Postellus, and others collect from the name of Israel; which was the common name of all the Tribes before the defection and carrying away of the Ten Tribes, when they were styled Jews, and not before, from Juda.

the chief of the remaining Tribes. To this we shall add one thing more: either the present Hebrew character is borrowed from the Chaldee; or else we must hold that, of the Eastern languages, the Syriac and Arabic have each his distinct proper character, and the Hebrew; but the Chaldee none at all; which how probable it is, let any man judge.

XII. Against this what saith our Adversary? He saith, p. 262. "That all is a groundless tradition, and a mere fable; that Eusebius spake only upon report, and as for Jerom, supposing this to be false, sufficient instances may be given of the like mistakes in him. The testimony of the Talmuds is with him of no weight, unless seconded by very good evidence. To that of the shekels, that we are in the high road of forgeries and fables; in nothing hath the world been more cheated. And if it be granted that the pretended coins be truly ancient, must it needs follow, that because these letters were then known and in use that they only were so, or that the Bible was written with them, and those now in use unknown? Then to save the credit of the coins, he will answer one conjecture with another. The Samaritan letters are (if he may so say) plainly preternatural, a studied invention in their frame and figure, fit to adorn when extended, or heightened by way of engraving and embossing any

thing that shall be put upon them, or cut in ; that we may think they were invented for that purpose, namely to engrave on vessels, and stamp on coins, and so came to be of some use in writing also ; and that their stamp and form promises some such thing. All which is the more probable, because Clemens tells us of three sorts of characters among the Egyptians ; one for things of common use ; another, hierographic, used by the priests in their sacred writings ; and the other hieroglyphic, which was also of two sorts ; simple, and symbolical : and seeing it was not unusual to have sundry sorts of letters for sundry purposes, it is not improbable, that it was so also among the Jews.*

XIII. To all this I might refer the reader to the same *Prolegomena* ; where all this, and a great deal more, is fully answered. At present I say, I. To call that a groundless tradition and a mere fable, which is supported with the testimonies of such grave and learned authors, both ancient and modern, confirmed by both Talmuds, and chief rabbins, and by real monuments, and ocular demonstrations, which, like Memnon's statue, speak aloud for the truth of this assertion, and upon such slight conjectures, as are by the Adversary produced, shew a high degree of rashness. Eusebius not only affirms this change of the character, but also gives one chief reason

why : That the Jews might have nothing common with the Samaritans, whom they hated *came pejus et angue*. Jerom, he saith, supposing this to be false, might be mistaken : nay, I say, he was certainly mistaken, supposing this to be false ; and so, if this ridiculous kind of arguing may be allowed, our Author, supposing all he writes to be false, was mistaken in every thing. But it is not enough to suppose he was mistaken, but to prove it ; and to infer that because he was mistaken in some other things, that therefore he was mistaken in this, is the way to decry all human testimony at once. All histories and records are by this means made useless ; for if they mistake in some things, they must be believed in nothing ; and so our Author, because in his Treatise he mistakes in many things, (as I believe he will not. I am sure he cannot, justly deny,) therefore he must not be believed in any thing ! I confess he that willingly affirms untruth in some things, deserves not to be believed in any thing : but that he who mistakes in some things through inadvertency, or involuntary error, must be believed in nothing, is to take away the credit of all histories in matters past, and the ground of all civil society and commerce among men for present and future times. The Talmuds are of highest authority with those against whom we chiefly argue, viz. the modern Jews, and therefore cannot be denied

either by them, or by any that embrace their opinion; nor was their authority ever denied in this point by any that I have read, either Jews or Christians till now; but some kind of answer, though absurd and foolish hath been found out, rather than they would wholly deny their authority. And though the Talmuds be full of fables, yet by his own rule, if that which they affirm be attested by other good evidence, as here it is, in this case their testimony ought to be of weight. But the answer serves for all: *Eusebius, Jerom, the Talmuds, the rabbins are all deceived, their reports fabulous, and the shekels are forged and feigned!* Here is a ready way to answer all arguments of this kind, to deny all authority, and to say, *that all is false and fabulous.* But this is a sign of a *desperate cause* to deny all without shew of reason to the contrary, which is to cut the knot when it cannot be loosed. There are many counterfeit coins, I grant. I have seen some Jewish coins which might easily be discovered to be forged, of which I have spoken in the place above mentioned; but to infer thence that all are forged, and that there is no way to distinguish between those that are true, and those that are counterfeit, is as if one should say, that all the old Roman coins, which are daily found and digged up amongst us, are counterfeit, because some such

This preternatural character, I doubt, will prove nothing else but the preternatural issue of a misguided fancy, or of one willing to frame and coin any thing, rather than to submit to clear truth!

XV. But yet there might be some other character besides this, with which the Bible might be written: Here he brings in that figment of R. Azarias, of a *twofold character*; one *sacred*, with which the Bible was written; and one *common* for other uses, and in which the Samaritans writ their Pentateuch; which he would confirm by the practice of the Egyptians, that had diverse sorts of characters. Of the Egyptian characters I have spoken at large, *Proleg.* ii. and that device of Azarias taken up by some others, the better to uphold their opinion of the modern letters, is proved to be a groundless conceit, *Proleg.* iii. That among the Heathens they used some secret character which was counted sacred, thereby to hide their profane mysteries from vulgar knowledge, is shewed in the same place; lest if the people should know all, they should contemn and deride them: but that there were any such among the Jews, or people of God, is a thing merely devised to avoid the force of this argument, without any ground either in Scripture, or any ancient writer; nay, against both, and against clear

reason, as is there shewed ; to which place I refer the reader, where the vanity of this twofold character is sufficiently proved.

XVI. But here comes in another argument against this change of Esdras, "That the ground, upon which this supposed change was made, shews the thing to be a mere fancy, viz. that the Jews had forgot their old character, during the seventy years' Captivity, and had learned the Chaldean ; when as the same men were alive at the burning of the first, and the building of the second Temple ; and that the men of the same generation should forget the use of their own letters, is incredible. Besides, they had their Bibles, and that in their own character only ; whether they had any other book or no, we know not ; and whence this forgetting of the one, and learning of another character should arise, doth not appear. Again, the weight of this improbable fiction is laid upon the testimony whereof the most ancient is six hundred years after the pretended matter of fact."—All this is to as little purpose as the rest. For, first, that the Jews had forgot their native language, and learned the Chaldean in that seventy years, is the unanimous opinion of men versed in these matters ; both the Buxtorfs, and all others that I have read of ; (Mayerus only excepted, whose reasons are examined, *Proleg.* iii.) And this they could not choose but

do, (though they kept the language for two hundred years in Egypt,) because they lived dispersed over Assyria, under their several lords and masters, whose servants and vassals they were, and therefore might easily forget their own language, and must of necessity learn the Assyrian, where they were born and brought up; whereas in Egypt they lived all together in one place, not mingled with the Egyptians. Now, if they forgot their language, and changed it, why not the character too? Or if some of them kept both, yet the Chaldee must needs be better known to them than the other, as being in daily use among them: yet it is not denied, but that as the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, so of the character too, did continue among the Priests and Scribes, and among some few of the old men, who might remember the standing of the old Temple. But what were these to the multitude of the common people, who understood only the tongue where they were born and bred; and so could have little knowledge of any other character than that in common use where they lived? And hence it was, that, when the Law was read, the Levites were fain to expound it in the Chaldee tongue, that the people might understand it; and hence came that custom of reading the verse first in Hebrew, and then in the Chaldee, as I have seen an old MS. brought from Ormus so written; first

the verse in Hebrew, and then the same in the Chaldee. Nor was the Canon of the Old Testament perfected before Esdras, as it is now, and all the Books in one Volume, or the Copies thereof as common among the people, as the Bible with us, as our Author imagines. Some Copies of the Law might remain among the Levites and Priests, by which they instructed the people; but the whole Canon, and all the Books of it reduced into one Volume as now, I doubt he will not find before that time. Besides, the Copies they had were much depraved, and had suffered much, (as this Author acknowledgeth,) and so were not fit for use, till they were rectified; else Esdras and the great Synagogue needed not to have spent so much labour about restoring the Law and other Books as they did.

XVII. As for the testimonies produced, I deny that the eldest is six hundred years after the matter of fact. The chief evidence, and most real testimony, is from the coins, which were near five hundred years before this change was made; and for the written testimonies, they are of the ancientest that are extant among the Jews, who have scarce any of unquestionable and undoubted certainty before the Talmuds, except the Chaldee Paraphrases, or some of the Apocryphal Books, where no occasion was given to mention such things. These, among other things, were

preserved among them by tradition ; and, had not their dispersions and banishments over the world forced the compiling of the Mishna and the Talmuds, this among their other traditions had been lost. After all, our Author concludes, p. 266, "seeing," *the vanity of all that he had said before*, "that it is probable that the old letters being excommunicate by Esdras, with the Samaritans, laying aside the old letters, because of their difficulty, he, together with the new, introduced also the points to facilitate their reading." The latter part of which speech, as we deny upon grounds formerly shewed, so the other we receive, that Esdras laid aside the old letters, (not because of their difficulty, for they appear rather to be easier than the other,) but because the Jews had been more used to the Chaldee, and that they might not seem to have communion with the Samaritans, (as is elsewhere proved,) and that he brought in the Assyrian, which hath since continued; and, therefore, we need no more proof in this matter, when we have the confession of our Adversary.

XVIII. Thus I have shortly run over these *Considerations*, and examined the most material passages which contained any thing worth the observing; entreating the reader, who desires more full satisfaction, to have recourse to the [G] *Prolegomena* and *Appendix themselves*. By

what hath been now observed, sufficient warning is given to the reader, not to be too credulous, or to take any thing upon trust without examination or trial; and by these *specimina* of his candour and love of truth, I desire him to judge of the rest of his Discourse. If he shall think fit to reply, though I cannot expect he should retract any thing he hath written; for I have known by long experience, that some men, as if they had an infallible spirit annexed to their chair, are past acknowledging any error in whatsoever comes from them; yet if he think fit to draw this saw of contention further, or as he threatens in diverse places to make further discoveries; I shall advise, 1. That he would be careful to state the controversy truly, and relate the arguments faithfully and entirely, and not lamely, much less to pervert them; and to that end, as Saint Jerom wished, *Advers. Errores Joh. Hierosol.* "Ut verbis meis sensum meum loquatur," that he would deliver my opinion in my own words; (as I have done his;) and not substitute what he pleases, or make his own concessions his adversary's opinions. 2. That he would proceed scholastically, and keep close to the point in hand; forbearing extravagant popular declamations. 3. That he would lay aside all passion and prejudice; for as Aristotel. in *Elench.* ὀργίζονται ἐδύναται φυλάττειν τὰ πάντα. Or if he cannot

but write in haste and in heat, yet that he would review and weigh his own conceptions; avoiding rash and precipitate censures; and that he would remember, that as an account must be given for every idle word spoken, so much more for what is written or printed, as being done with more deliberation. 4. That he would not join promiscuously what is said by other authors, either Romanists or Protestants, with what is said in the *Prolegomena* as if all that they affirm were to be charged upon the *Prolegomena*. For by not distinguishing what is said by each, but by jumbling all together, it is cunningly insinuated to the unwary reader, as if all held the same. For I am not to answer for any thing, but what is said in the *Prolegomena*.

XIX. These rules if he shall observe, I shall promise to deal in like manner with him, if any rejoinder shall be found needful. But if he shall persist in the way he hath begun, I shall think silence the best answer, having better employments, wherein to spend my hours; and shall rest in the testimony of my own conscience, that I have in all my endeavours about this great work, proposed no other end, than the Glory of God, in the preserving of his sacred truth, both in the Originals, and ancient Translations, both for the true reading, and right sense or meaning, pure and entire to posterity, against both the

casual mistakes that may happen in some, and the wilful corruptions and falsifications of Sectaries and Heretics, which never more boldly, nor in greater numbers than now, endeavoured to deprave or corrupt it, either in the letter, or sense, or both. And though these weak endeavours be attended (as it hath been the fate of all public works of this nature) with obloquy in some emulous and contradicting spirits, yet I shall think it sufficient that I have had the general approbation of men truly learned, judicious, and pious. And for those that are otherwise, I doubt not but the work will live in after ages, when their invectives shall be buried in oblivion : For,

*" Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit ;
" Tunc suus ex merito quemque tuetur honos."*

THE END OF THE CONSIDERATOR CONSIDERED.



**SOME
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
PRECEDING VINDICATION,
CHIEFLY WITH A VIEW
TO
REFERENCES UPON THE SUBJECT,
BY
THE COMPILER
OF THE
MEMOIRS OF DR. WALTON, &c.**

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OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

P. 2. [A] “*a reverend author.*” Dr. Walton here alludes, I presume, to a passage in a sermon preached before the King, Sept. 2, 1623, by Dr. G. Warburton, (afterwards dean of Wells,) and published in that year. “*Inter duos latrones hodie crucifigitur Ecclesia Christi,* (Hieron.) The Church of Christ, as Christ himselfe, is at this day crucified betweene two theeves; her peace disturbed on both sides. On the one side are the Jesuites, and their adherents; a strong and impetuous faction in the Church of Rome, that maintaine those transalpine tenets most injurious to Christian monarchs, the pope’s supremacie over kings, his power of deposing, of killing them, of acquitting subjects of their naturall liege allegiance, and absolving traytors for the murther of their prince. On the other side, certaine scrupulous brethren of our owne, inflamed with a precipitate zeale against our corruptions, as they call them, both in doctrine and discipline, have with their clamorous libels, most repleat with unthankfulnessse to God for his mercies to this land, with slander to our ecclesiasticall government, and with prejudice to the civil state, kindled a strange fire of contention in this nationall Church.” Serm. pp. 35, 36.

P. 4. [B] "*that magnificent work.*" See Le Long, Biblioth. Sac. cap. 1. Bib. Polygl. Antwerp. Bowyer on the first printed Polyglots, Orig. of Printing, p. 129. And Dibdin's Introduct. to the Classics, 8d edit. vol. i. p. 8. et seq. where several curious particulars of this *wonder of the world*, as it has been called, are related.

P. 5. [C] "*that splendid work of the Parisian Bible.*" Compare Le Long, ut supr. Bowyer, p. 122. and Dibdin, p. 11.

Ibid. [D] "*the last English translation.*" See the preceding Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Walton, ch. 3. p. 101, et seq.

Ibid. [E] "*one—passed by and not employed in the work.*" The learned but very conceited and injudicious Hugh Broughton. See Lewis's Essay on the English Versions of the Bible, 2d edit. p. 297. And a Vindication of our Authorized Translation, 1819, p. 69.

P. 8. [F] "*a late pamphlet.*" The Vindication of the Hebrew and Greek Texts, published in 1659, by Dr. John Owen, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, during the Usurpation of Cromwell. Nothing can be adduced more explanatory of this controversy, than the observation of a gentleman who has very recently given to the world Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Dr. Owen. "The progress of Hebrew literature has discovered, that the fears, entertained by Owen, respecting the doctrines of the Polyglot, were wholly groundless: and his language, that those who asserted that the Scriptures had suffered in the same manner with other books, bordered on atheism, was rash and improper; as the event has proved. He disclaims all personal motives in the considerations he was led to throw out on the Polyglot; professes not to have been acquainted

with Walton, and but little with his chief coadjutors ; and *pretends to no profound acquaintance with the department of literature, to which the Prolegomena and Appendix of the Polyglot properly belong.*——And yet he scrupled not to impugn assertions, which those Prolegomena and that Appendix contain !——“ It is unnecessary now,” the learned biographer of Dr. Owen proceeds, “ to canvass his objections. His fears magnified his expectations of danger, and multiplied his difficulties ; and neither the cause of sacred learning, nor his own fame, would have suffered, had he never written a sentence on the subject. He was not allowed to pass unanswered. *Walton immediately published an able, but ill-tempered reply, THE CONSIDERATOR CONSIDERED, &c. It cannot be concealed; and ought not to be denied, that Walton had greatly the better of his antagonist in this controversy.* He possessed eminent learning, great critical acumen, and all that patient industry which was necessary for the successful prosecution of his very arduous undertaking. These qualifications, combined with abundance of leisure, with the assistance of learned associates, and with enthusiastic devotedness to the cause which he espoused, enabled him to bring his original work to a perfection that left all its predecessors far behind, and to meet any antagonist, with advantages, of whose importance he was sufficiently aware. The time and talents of Owen had been chiefly devoted to very different pursuits. In doctrinal, exegetical, and controversial theology, he had then but few equals, and no superior. In these departments he shone with distinguished lustre, and to their cultivation he had consecrated all the faculties and ardour of no ordinary mind. His

public labours, and numerous writings, must have left him but little time or inclination for the dry pursuits of verbal criticism; *and, on this account, it would have been better had he left the subject to others.* But, while I freely concede the palm of victory in this contest to Walton, it is impossible to compliment the spirit, with which he fought for and achieved it. He never condescends so much as to name Owen, although the work which he answers was not anonymous. He breathes a tone of defiance and contempt, alike uncalled for and unsuitable; but probably dictated as much by the political changes in prospect, as by personal dislike of Owen. The Ex-Vicechancellor of Oxford, though not then *a son of the Church of England*, a title to which Walton attached no ordinary importance, was not unworthy to be named with the most learned of her progeny; and even the Editor of the Polyglot was not entitled to school him as a dunce."— I pause again, with submission to the biographer of Dr. Owen, to observe, that a man professing no profound acquaintance with the literature which another critically illustrates, and yet deliberately assailing and depreciating it, can hardly earn, in such a vain endeavour, a name of higher import than a dunce; and therefore such an one can be treated by him, whose labours he insults and misrepresents, only as a blunderer who surely deserves to be schooled, or as a trifler provoking derision. There was at one time a fierce defender of Dr. Owen against the attack of Dr. Walton, who considered the latter as not to be compared, in point of criticism, with the former; of whose aid, in his narrative of this controversy, Mr. Orme has not availed himself! This person was Mr. Joseph

Cooper, who published a vehement dissertation, entitled “*Domus Mosaicæ Clavis, sive Legis Sepimentum*; in quo punctorum Hebraicorum adstruitur antiquitas; eaque omnia, cum accentualia tum vocalia, ipsis literis fuisse coæva, argumentis, undique petitis, demonstratur. Quæ verò in contrarium ab Elia Levita primipilo, Ludovico Cappello, D. Doctore *Waltono*, &c. adducuntur, multa cum fidelitate examini subjiciuntur et diluuntur, &c.” 8vo. Lond. 1673. No wonder then, that this critic, speaking of Cappellus, boldly says, “*cujus rationes Buxtorfius junior expendit et confutavit*,” next of Dr. *Walton*, “*cujus sententiam Bibliorum Polyglottorum, quo jure quave injuria Prolegomenis insertam, disputatione planè nervosa expugnavit Dr. Owen*,” and then of Dr. Prideaux, “*quem unà cum Ludovico Cappello, et Doct. Walton, argumentorum tum pondere, tum numero, obrutum in hoc quali quali tractatulo invenire licet*!” Thus overwhelming these three unfortunate scholars, he is not content that the reader should witness their extinction with any other sentiment than that of detestation; for he says, “*Habetis tandem, lectores candidi, natales horrendi istius monstri, quod, obstetricante Elia Levita, primitus natum Lud. Cappellus, Johannes Prideauxius, et Brianus Waltonus, cum aliis è nostris, postmodum educârunt, &c.*” Præf. ad Lectorem. Instead of citing other presumptuous passages from this forgotten yet learned volume, I will copy a few words more from the biographer of Dr. Owen. “His [*Walton’s*] remarks on the motives and designs of Owen are bitter and unchristian, and only reflect dishonour on himself. And surely the man, who, after enjoying the favour of Cromwell, had the ingratitude to erase his

acknowledgment of it, and to insert the name of Charles, from whom his work had derived no benefit, (though it afterwards procured a bishopric for its author,) has not the highest claims to credit for Christian simplicity and sincerity." *Memoirs of Dr. Owen, &c.* By William Orme, 8vo. London, 1820, pp. 271, 272, 273. In answer to these concluding remarks of Mr. Orme, I refer the reader to Dr. Walton's own publication, and the vast importance of the subject, in the preceding pages of this volume; and next to the account, given by Dr. Walton himself, in the *Memoirs of his Life and Writings* which I have brought together, respecting the alleged favour of Cromwell, respecting also the concern which Charles the Second appears to have shewn for the Polyglot, and respecting other matters connected with this subject, hitherto suppressed, or overpassed; which may lead the reader to a different conclusion than that made by Mr. Orme. See the first volume of this work, pp. 82, 83, 84.

P. 12. [G] "*Archbishop Usher, Bishop Prideaux, &c.*" Of these learned men Usher was the only one, who lived to witness the completion of the Polyglot.

P. 28. [H] "*not impeached or prejudiced thereby.*" It has been abundantly shewn, that by Various Readings the sacred text has not only been not prejudiced, but been cleared and vindicated. "I am forced to confess with grief," says the great Bentley, "that several well-meaning priests, of greater zeal than knowledge, have often by their own false alarms and panic both frightened others of their own side, and given advantage to their enemies. What an uproar once was there, as if all were ruined and undone, when Cappellus wrote one book against the antiquity of the

Hebrew points, and another for various lections in the Hebrew text itself? And yet time and experience have cured them of their imaginary fears; and the great author in his grave has now that honour universally, which the few only of his own age paid him when alive. The case is and will be the same with the learned Dr. Mill. For what is it, that Whitby so inveighs and exclaims at? The doctor's labours, says he, make the whole text precarious; and expose both the Reformation to the Papists, and religion itself to the Atheists. God forbid! We'll still hope better things. For surely those Various Readings existed before in the several exemplars. Dr. Mill did not make and coin them; he only exhibited them to our view. If religion, therefore, was true before, though such Various Readings were in being; it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. Depend on't; no truth, no matter of fact, fairly laid open, can ever subvert true religion." Phil. Lips. P. I. §. 32. "As to what our Deists allege from the great number of Various Readings, if they had but as little learning, or at least ingenuity, as they pretend to piety, they would acknowledge them to be of no consequence to the substance of religion. They appear plainly to be the effect of human frailty, inaccuracy, and mistake, in transcribing or translating, and what might escape the best and most diligent writer. And no one surely will pretend, that Divine Providence was under any obligation miraculously to continue the infallibility of the authors of Holy Writ down to every librarian and amanuensis, to prevent their making mistakes. Such objections would make one imagine, that there is nothing to be urged against

the genuineness of the Scriptures; but what will, upon due examination, add strength to their authority, and end in the praise of them. For the multitude of Various Readings are so far from arising from any design, or contrivance, to vitiate or falsify the text, that notwithstanding Manuscripts have been collected from the most distant parts of the world; and the most diligent search every where made for them; and more of them met with than of any other books, as the constant use of those writings made them to be oftener transcribed, and all of them collated with the most religious exactness; there is not any one point of faith or morality, which is not to be found in the very worst Copy, and as capable of being proved by the most inaccurate as the most correct. (See Cappellus, as he is quoted by Dr. Walton, Proleg. cap. vi. § 2.) Which is a sufficient demonstration that there has been no collusion, no interpolating, no designed alteration of Copies. And as for the native and genuine sense of the Scriptures, 'tis so far from being the more precarious from the number of Various Readings, that 'tis rendered the more clear and certain from them; (Walton, Proleg. cap. vi. §. 5.) the only difficulty being to find out the true reading from the false, which is not so great, as may be imagined, to a skilful and able critic; the observation of a very few rules being all that is necessary, as Dr. Walton has sufficiently shewn, Proleg. cap. vi. §. 6." Dr. A. Young's Historical Dissertation on Idolatrous Corruptions in Religion, vol. 2. p. 242. et seq. "*Bene egit Waltonus de Variis Scripturæ S. Lectionibus capite vi; et optandum foret, ut hoc caput legeretur ab omnibus, qui laborem Codicum conferendorum vel non necessarium, vel aliud noverint,*

judicant. Probavit suam sententiam non solum ex experientia, h. e. ex dissensu Codicum antiquioribus et recentioribus temporibus observato, sed etiam ex virorum doctissimorum testimoniis, itemque eorum, qui acerrimi textus Hebræi defensores fuerunt. Removit inanem periculi timorem ex Codicum collatione timendi textus integritati. Regulas quoque dedit, Proleg. cap. vi. §. 6. de judicandis Variis Lectionibus, sed, quod nolim negare, non satis subtiles, neque accuratè definitas. Nam illud, *ceteris paribus*, aut, *non temerè*, magnam habet ambiguitatem. Sed de his videndi sunt alii in his regulis definiendis magis accurati; inprimis S. R. ERNESTI in *Instit. Interpretis Nov. Test.* Nam quæ leges judicio super Variis Lectionibus Nov. Test. scribuntur, eas quoque in Vet. Test. servandas esse non dubito. Igitur nihil dicam ad has à Waltonò allatas regulas emendandas vel illustrandas." Præf. I. A. Dathe in Waltoni Prolegom. Lips. 1777, pp. xxxviii, xxxix. Dr. Walton, we find, agreed with Usher, rather than with Cappellus, in a rule of the greatest importance respecting Various Readings; which they, who study the Holy Scriptures, should carefully observe. See the Considerator considered, chap. vi. §. 10. I venture to recommend a learned Discourse, illustrating the use, value, and improvement of Various Readings, preached before the University of Oxford, October 18, 1761, by W. Worthington, D.D. chaplain to the Archbishop of York; and published at the request of the vice-chancellor and heads of houses. It is indeed most worthy to be reprinted.

P. 84. [I] "*Hobbes's Leviathan.*" About the time, when Dr. Walton published the Vindication of his

Polyglot, the authors who had written against the pernicious publication of Hobbes were numerous; and they are afterwards noticed in an account of Hobbes's Life, which yet details not all of them. One of the most eminent was Dr. Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. We are infinitely obliged to those who have detected the sophistry of Hobbes, and the tendency of his maxims to corrupt morals; especially as some have spoken highly of his style in later times, who have either wholly overlooked, or not sufficiently deprecated, the danger both of his religious and political principles.

P. 39. [K] "*Various Readings, &c.*" See the preceding note, H.

Ibid. [L] "*the novelty of the Hebrew punctuation.*" See Dathe's Præf. in Waltoni Prolegom. p. xxix. "Quæ Waltonus contra punctorum vocalium et accentuum antiquitatem attulit argumenta, *eadem sunt quibus CAPPELLUS eam contra BUXTORFIUM impugnavit.* Est hæc temporum nostrorum felicitas, quòd controversia illa, quæ olim tanta animorum vehementia ab utraque parte agitata est, jam quidè̃m partim moderatius, partim feliciter, disceptatur. SCHULTENSIUS quidè̃m primus fuit, quod ego sciam, *qui ostendit neutri parti victoriam posse concedi.*" The *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* of CAPPELLUS "contains almost all the arguments, which have been since used against the antiquity of the Hebrew points; and they are stated so fully and clearly, that the subject appeared to be exhausted in the first essay of it. But as the opinion, that the Hebrew points were of modern origin, was likely, when first advanced, to be regarded as an infringement even of the text, CAPPELLUS had the

precaution to send his work in manuscript to be examined by BUXTORF, who returned it with the request that it might not be printed. CAPPELLUS then sent it to ERPENIUS, professor of the Oriental languages at Leyden, who so approved of it, that with the permission of the author he printed it at Leyden in 1624. BUXTORF made no reply to it: and as he died about five years afterwards, he left it to be answered by his son, who was likewise professor in the University of Basel. But many years elapsed before the younger BUXTORF had prepared an answer to CAPPELLUS. In the mean time JOHANNES MORINUS, one of the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris, attacked the antiquity of the Hebrew letters in his *Exercitationes ecclesiasticæ*, printed at Paris in 1631. And as the antiquity of the letters appeared more important, perhaps also more defensible, than the antiquity of the points, the younger BUXTORF made his first essay in a defence of the Hebrew letters, entitled *Dissertatio de literarum Hebraicarum antiquitate*. The precise year when this treatise was first published is not known: but in 1645 it received an answer from CAPPELLUS, in his *Diatriba de veris et antiquis Hebræorum literis*, in which CAPPELLUS contended, as MORINUS had already done, that the true and the ancient letters of the Hebrews were no other than the Samaritan. In 1648 the younger BUXTORF made his reply to CAPPELLUS, on the subject of the points, in a work entitled, *Tractatus de punctorum vocalium et accentuum in libris Veteris Testamenti Hebraicis origine, antiquitate, et authoritate, oppositus Arcano punctationis revelato LUDOVICI CAPELLI*. To this work CAPPELLUS prepared an Answer, entitled, *Arcani punctationis*

Vindiciæ. But he died before the publication of it: and his son, to whom it was left in manuscript, did not publish it, till many years after the death also of his opponent BUXTORF. This controversy about the antiquity of the Hebrew letters and points must be carefully distinguished from another, in which CAPPELLUS and the younger BUXTORF were likewise engaged, on the integrity of the Hebrew text: for the two controversies, though in some measure connected, and frequently confounded, rest on totally distinct grounds. In the opinion, that the Hebrew or Chaldee character was not used by the Jews till after the Babylonian Captivity, and *that the present system of vowel points was introduced in a still later age, the most distinguished Hebrew scholars, with a very few exceptions, have sided with CAPPELLUS.*" Bishop Marsh's, *Theological Lectures*, P. II. Lect. x. The critics were at first greatly divided upon the subject of the Hebrew points. The list of those, who sided with CAPPELLUS, has been given by one who differed from him; and a splendid list it is. It is more full than any which Dr. Walton has brought forward, in the *Considerator* considered; and therefore is here cited. It contains the great names of *Elias Levita, Lewis Cappel, Thomas Erpenius, Isaac Casaubon, J. J. Scaliger, Isaac Vossius, J. Drusius, Arnold Boate, Andrew Rivet, Lewis de Dieu, Hugh Grotius, Frederick Spanheim, Festus Hommius, Theodore Beza, John Selden, Brian Walton, Andrew Sennert, James Bannaga, F. Burmann, Richard Simon, Philip à Limborch, Stephen Morin, C. Vitringa, J. le Clerc, C. A. Heumann,* and others. See *Dissert. Critica de Litteris, &c. Heb. ab Andr. Chr. Petersen*, p. 34. §. vi. To these I may add J. B.

L'Advocat, C. F. Houbigant, Bishop Lowth, and Dr. Kennicott. At the same time, it must be observed, several men of great learning have also illustrated and defended the opinion of CAPPELLUS's opponent. But of these some have lost their temper, and so betrayed the weakness of their cause. This may surely be said of Wasmuth, in his *Vindiciæ S. Hebrææ*; of our countryman, Joseph Cooper, in his *Domus Mosaiæ Clavis*, (mentioned in the preceding note F. p. 315;) and of several minor critics, at home and abroad, who have raged furiously both against Walton and Cappellus. Great Britain, however, has not wanted men of less irritability, who have strenuously defended the Hebrew vowel-points. Such have been Mr. Thomas Boston, Mr. Peter Whitfield, and Dr. James Robertson; the production of the first bearing the following description: *Tractatus Stigmologicus, Hebræo-Biblicus. Quo accentuum Hebræorum doctrina traditur, variisque eorum in explanandu S. Scriptura usus exponitur, &c. Amst. 1738*; of the second, *On the Hebrew Points, Liverpool, 1748*; and of the last, *Dissertatio de genuina punctorum vocalium Hebræicorum antiquitate, Edinb. 1770*.

P. 60. [M] "Concerning the purity and authority of the Original Texts, &c." The observation of Dathe, upon what Dr. Walton has here noticed, is worthy of great attention. "Quamquam verò textus originarios à corruptione, quæ nimirum sit omnium Codicum superstitum, liberos esse defendit WALTONUS, eosque puros et integros ad nostra usque tempora pervenisse; tamen hanc eorum integritatem non restringendum esse rectè monet, ad unam tantum illam textus Hebræi (nam

de textu Græco non amplius disputatur) *recensionem, quæ Masorethica vocari solet*. Sed quemadmodum librorum Nov. Test. integritas non ex paucorum Codd. sed ex omnium quotquot supersunt collatione probatur, ita etiam de libris Vet. Test. debebat judicari, nec eorum integritas ex Judæorum criticorum diligentia, cæteroquin non contemnenda, tantam demonstrari. Quod faciunt ii, qui conatus virorum doctissimorum, in conferendis codicibus Hebræis susceptos, improbant, contemnunt et tanquam periculosos rejiciunt. Quanquam hujus erroris vanitatem WALTONUS jam in præcedenti capite ostenderat, cum de Var. Lectt. earumque colligendarum necessitate ageret, tamen denuò ei probandum erat, cum *textus originalis integritatem defenderet, huic nullo modo obstare sententiam de Variis Lectionibus*; Prol. viii. §. 12, 13, 14, *plures esse in Codice Hebræo diversas Lectiones, quàm sint à Judæis observatæ; Judæorum scribas minimè habuisse privilegium ἀναγραφῆς, et propterea Masorethicam textus Hebræi recensionem non opus esse perfectissimum, consummatissimum, quod novas Codicum collationes inutiles reddat et minùs necessarias; neque HIERONYMUM, aut EUSEBIUM, sæpè de dissensu Codicum Hebræorum loquentes, eum integritati Scripturæ Sacræ periculosum judicasse*, §. 13, 14. Quæ cum WALTONUS etiam ad Nov. Test. transtulerat, §. 15, 16, subjungit tandem disputationem adversus ἀθετησίαν Versionis Vulgatæ à Pontificiis assertam, lectu non indignam." Præf. in Waltoni Prolegom. pp. xlii, xliii.

P. 54. [N] This letter has been published separately; and is also found in Dr. Parr's Collection of

Archbishop Usher's Letters, pp. 569—579; and in the third volume of Cappellus's *Critica Sacra*, edited by J. G. Scharfenberg, Hal. Madg. 1786, pp. 635—659.

P. 62. [O] "*Arnold Bootius, &c.*" See some notices of this critic in the Memoirs of Dr. Walton, pp. 60, et seq. Many of his letters to Archbishop Usher are preserved in Dr. Parr's Collection, fol. London, 1686.

P. 66. [P] "*that they made more frequent use of the Greek LXX. than the Hebrew.*" See the Considerator considered again, chap. ix. §. 15. "The Septuagint was publicly read in the synagogues for near three hundred years before Christ: our Saviour and the Apostles used it, and cited it more frequently than the Hebrew text." See also Dr. Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Test. P. II. B. I. "That there was a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, made in the time that the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt, is not to be doubted: for we still have the Book, and it is the same which was in use in our Saviour's time; for most of those passages which the holy penmen of the New Testament do, in the Greek Original of it, quote out of the Old Testament, are now found *verbatim* in this Version." And Dr. Mill, on Hebrews xiii. 25. "*Scripturæ Veteris Testamenti, non secundum Hebraicam veritatem, quam vocant, sed LXX. Interpretum, (in hac Epistola,) perpetuò citatæ: et quidem iis in locis, in quibus si reponerentur Hebræa, non modò periret vis argumentationis Apostolicæ, sed ne quidè ullus foret argumentationi locus.*"

P. 92. [Q] "*the wonderful consent of all Translations.*" See Dr. Brett's Dissertation on the Ancient

Versions of the Bible, 2d. edit. pp. 141, et seq. This is his conclusion, p. 144. "We have reason to admire and adore the Providence of God ; that notwithstanding the Holy Scriptures have been dispersed into almost all the nations of the world, and translated into most languages ; have been transcribed by Christians of many different persuasions and opinions ; and that beside the various readings which have proceeded from oversights, or ignorance, or rashness, there are some which may seem to have been made to serve the particular opinions of a party ; yet not any article of faith, any doctrine or duty, any promise or threatening has been affected thereby, or rendered precarious by any various reading or corruption."

P. 98. [R] "*as that of Shiloh, &c.*" Some learned men have bestowed more labour, than was requisite, in confuting the strained and frivolous interpretations of this passage by modern Jews. Ancient and very learned expositors among the Jews did not dispute the sense of this illustrious prophecy ; but admitted, that it referred to the time of our Lord's coming into the world. Onkelos thus paraphrased the verse. *There shall never be wanting a ruler out of the house of Judah, nor a chief judge out of his son's sons, until Messiah shall come, to whom the kingdom belongs ; and the nations shall hear or obey him.* See Critical Notes on Scripture, 8vo. London, 1747, p. 8. See also An Address to the Jews, by John Xeres, containing his reasons for leaving the Jewish and embracing the Christian religion, 8vo. London, 1710, pp. 30, 31. Our countryman Mede has written an admirable discourse on this text, Serm. 4to. edit. 1642, pp. 144, et seq.

P. 102 [S] "*and by apparent reason.*" See what is before cited upon this subject in the notes H and M.

P. 103. [T] "*how justly we have shewed, Proleg. ix.*" I must refer the reader particularly to the 18th section of that chapter of the Prolegomena. See also Dathe's extensive remarks on this chapter, Præf. in Prol. pp. xlv. et seq. He opens, justly, at variance with Dr. Walton, "*De Versionibus Græcis, præcipuè LXXII seniorum, copiosè egit WALTONUS cap. ix. sed, quod ad hanc inprimis attinet, non ita, ut omnibus, quæ super ea scripserit, possim assentiri. Nimirum defendit historiam seu potius fabulam Aristæ de origine hujus versionis, quam nostra ætate nemo credit, &c.*"

P. 109. [U] "*especially that in 1 John v. 8.*" Meaning the omission of the seventh verse; in favour of the genuineness of which, notwithstanding the severe castigation of Aohdeacon Travis for defending it by Professor Porson, and notwithstanding the consent of many critics, both at home and abroad, to give it up, there is not so weak a body of testimony as some are content to believe. Some existing MSS. though few, contain it. Manuscripts, known to have existed, have been authentically stated to contain it. Of the very numerous MSS. in various libraries, yet uncollated, who shall say how many of them want it? Not a few of the Christian Fathers maintained it. Selden appears to have supported it. Mill defended it. Bentley indeed read a lecture at Cambridge to prove it spurious; but, says Whiston, his learned contemporary, "*he dares not now wholly omit it in the text of his edition of the New Testament, which he has promised, but not yet performed.*" But

let Bentley speak for himself on the subject of this verse, though his edition certainly did not appear : " What will be the event about the said verse of John, I myself know not yet; *having not used all the old copies that I have information of.* But by this you see, that in my proposed work the fate of that verse will be a mere *question of fact.* You endeavour to prove, (and that's all you aspire to,) that it *may* have been writ by the Apostle, being consonant to his other doctrine. This I concede to you; and if the fourth century knew that text, let it come in, in God's name: but if that age did not know it, then Arianism in its height was beat down without the help of that verse: and let the *fact* prove as it will, the *doctrine* is unshaken." Lett. to some unknown correspondent, Bentley's Epist. ed. Burney, 1807, p. 238. Just and satisfactory as the concluding remark is, and proper as are the observations which precede it, still the verse ought not yet entirely to be given up. The lost MSS. of Stephens may yet again meet the critical eye; and MSS. at present only known to exist, as well as many at present undiscovered, may compensate future examination with the desired discovery. I will only add, that among the many critics who have impugned, or maintained, the authenticity of this verse, I have not yet found one, not even the sagacious Porson himself, who has named or referred to a fellow-labourer in the contest, the Rev. T. Dawson; who is the author of *Disceptatio Epistolaris de Cœlestibus Testimoniis, 1 John v. 7. In qua, ex binis Manuscriptis eximiis, indubio evincitur dubaria istius versiculi, &c.*" The author appears to have been an amanuensis of Dr. Cave, and the tract is worth reading.

P. 112. [W] "*concerning which I have spoken at large; Proleg. viii.*" See Dathe's Præf. in Prolegom. p. xliv. "In cap. viii. distinctè et accuratè egit WALTONUS de Masora, hoc est, de iis, quæ Judæi Critici ad textus Hebræi lectionem emendandam et conservandam fecerunt. In historia quidè hujus Criticæ Judaicæ secutus est inprimis BUXTORFIUM, ex cujus *Tiberiade, seu Clave Masoræ*, epitomen dedit, quam tirones cum fructu legent. In judicio verò super his laboribus Judæorum ad S. textus conservationem susceptis, CAPPELLI et MORINI amplexus est sententiam. Qui plures auctores nosse cupit, qui cùm universè de Masora scripserunt, tùm de singulis ejus partibus, evolvat WOLFIIUM in Biblioth. Hebr. tom. ii. pag. 460, seqq. et tom. iv. pag. 207, seqq."

P. 120. [X] "*that incomparably learned man, &c.*" With the character which Dr. Walton here gives Grotius, in regard to his earnest study for the peace of the Church, and his endeavour to close up rather than to make wider the breaches and wounds of Christendom, compare what Dr. Hammond has said of him in his letter to Mr. Smith, Mem. of Dr. Walton, p. 257.

P. 130. [Y] "*belonging to Caius College in Cambridge.*" Dr. Kennicott has described the contents of this MS. See his account of the Hebrew MSS. in England, disposed under every Book of the Old Testament, at the end of his *State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered*, Oxf. 1759.

P. 131. [Z] "*is their diligence to be condemned, &c.*" No, says a greater critic than Walton himself: "It has been the common sense of men of letters, that numbers of Manuscripts do not make a text precarious, but are useful, nay necessary, to its establishment and

certainty. And as Scaliger, Casaubon, Heinsius, &c. when they designed to publish a correct edition of an author, *first laboured to procure all the Manuscripts they could hear of, as the only means that promised laudable success*; so Stephanus, Junius, Curcellæus, Walton, Fell, and Mill, *proceeded in the same method.*" Bentley, Phil. Lips. §. 82.

P. 133. [A] "*all do constantly agree, &c.*" See the preceding note Q. Blackwall, in his *Sacred Classics*, has cited this fine passage in the *Considerator* with much approbation, and made it the text of his own remarks upon the subject. vol. 2, pp. 336, et seq.

P. 148. [B] "*sought out, and collated by the most reverend Usher.*" See what has been said of this collection, Mem. of Dr. Walton, pp. 79, 182.

Ibid. [C] "*the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, &c.*" The Alexandrian Manuscript, containing both the Old and the New Testament is now preserved in the British Museum. Dr. Woide, of the Museum, many years since, printed from it an accurate fac-simile edition of the New Testament; and carried the age of it to the latter part of the fourth century; though Michaelis has placed it at least two centuries later. Mr. Baber, of the same national establishment, has with no less exactness and splendour already given to the world from this venerable Manuscript the whole of the historical and prophetical books; and is proceeding with the remainder of the Old Testament. I noticed the exertions of this learned and indefatigable scholar in the *Memoirs of Dr. Walton*, p. 256, but to a less extent than they have attained. As to the age of the Alexandrian MS, we have already seen the difference of opinion between Woide and Michaelis. Semler thinks that it was

written in the seventh century. But certainty cannot be obtained. The Vatican MS. contends with the Alexandrian the estimation also of age. I will subjoin an observation or two of Ernesti; "*Antiquissimi putantur Vaticanus et Alexandrinus, literis uncialibus continentibus scripti: in quibus tamen magnus est eruditorum dissensus, utri primæ partes debeantur; aliis pro Vaticano pugnantis, aliis pro Alexandrino. De hoc imprimis videndi editores Versionis LXX. Anglicani Proleg. T. II. c. I. propos. XV. s. de illo Zaccagnius l. c. p. 56. de utroque Wetstenius in Proleg. N. T.*" Ernesti, *Inst. Interpr. Nov. Test. ed. Lips. 1809. pp. 193, 194.* Montfaucon and Blanchini pronounce the Vatican MS. of the fifth century.

Ibid. [D] "*the Codex Claromontanus.*" Believed to be written in the seventh or eighth century.

Ibid. [E] "*that which Beza sent to Cambridge.*" Of this Manuscript also, as of the Alexandrian, the age is disputed. It has been carried as high as the second century, and has also been consigned to the seventh; but that it was not written beyond the fifth century, is the opinion to which most deference has been shewn.

Ibid. [F] "*that Greek MS. of the Chronicles.*" See Dr. Walton's collation of this MS. in the sixth volume of his Polyglot; where he describes it thus: "*Liber Chronicorum MS. antiquus in Bibliotheca Publica Cantabrigiensi, qui erat quondam Theodori, Archiep. Cantuariensis anno 668, cum Editione Romana collatus.*"

Ibid. [G] "*that ancient remnant of Sir Robert Cotton's MS. of Genesis.*" Dr. Walton considers this as the most ancient of all his MSS. See his account

of the collation of it by Usher and Young, as well as by himself, Bib. Polygl. vi. 109. Grabe pursued the same kind of collation with this MS. as Dr. Walton had done; which remained in the Bodleian Library unpublished till the year 1778; when Dr. H. Owen accurately printed it, viz. *Collatio Codicis Cottoniani Genesews cum Editione Romana à viro clarissimo Joh. Ern. Grabe jam olim facta, nunc demum summa cura edita*. See what Dr. Walton says of the loss of the remainder of the Pentateuch, 'Genesis alone being saved. Memoirs of his Life and Writings, p. 289. This most valuable MS. of Genesis, however, has, since the times of Walton and Grabe, nearly perished. "The Book of Genesis in the Cottonian Library, which was written in large Greek capitals, without distinction of words, and had the history painted on most of the pages, is almost all destroyed by the late unfortunate fire, [in 1731;] and the leaves of what remains, and consequently the writing in a just proportion, are contracted into a less compass." Casley's Catalogue of the King's MSS. 1734, Pref. pp. viii, ix. This learned librarian gives a specimen of the MS. on the eleventh of his plates, at the close of the Catalogue. But Mr. Astle, in his Origin and Progress of Writing, has presented a specimen of this MS. in his third plate, (1st edit. p. 71,) made while the writing was in its original state, and before the parchment was contracted by the fire; adding that the MS. contained one hundred and sixty-five folia, and two hundred and fifty most curious paintings, twenty-one of which were engraven by the Society of Antiquaries of London. It is said to have belonged to Origen. See Casley, p. ix. and Astle, p. 71. However, it has certainly been

considered the oldest Greek MS. not only in England, but in Europe.

P. 151. [H] "*that MS. of St. Paul's Epistles in Emmanuel College.*" Collated in the Polyglot. See Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. *Variantes Lectiones Græcæ Novæ Test.* "Codex præstans ob antiquitatem, minutis characteribus descriptus." Walton. "A 1 Cor. xi. 7. ad xv. 56. est mutilus; item ab Heb. xi. 27. ad finem Epistolæ; deest præterea primum caput prioris Petri, quartum primæ Joannis, ejusdem secunda tota ac tertia cum Epistolæ Judæ." Wetstein.

P. 156. [I] "*Prolegom. vi. De Variis Lectionibus.*" See the note H. pp. 316, et seq.

P. 180. [K] "*the Arabic Translation.*" See Prof. Ammon's notes upon Ernesti: "Collectiones adcuratæ Versionum Arabicarum cum discrimine ætatis institutæ *non-dum exstant.* Vid. Storrus de Evangeliiis Arabicis, Tubing. 1775, &c." Ernesti Inst. Interp. N. T. edit. 1809, p. 227. "We know not of any more ancient Translation of the Bible into the Arabic language, than one that was made by Saadiah Gaon, a Jew of Babylon, about A.D. 900. But there have been several Translations made since, into that language, both by Jews and Christians. The Eastern Christians have, I think, all of them, some Arabic Translation of the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, made for the use of their people, since that became the vulgar language amongst them. These are mostly made from the Septuagint, or from the Syriac, and are neither very ancient, or of any considerable authority. The best use to be made of them is, that they may serve to illustrate some difficult passages. Among the Arabic Translations, made by Christians, there is one printed in the Polyglots both

of Paris and London. Both the author, and the time when it was writ, are uncertain." Brett on the Ancient Versions of the Bible, 2d. edit. p. 130.

P. 185. [L] "*the Syriac Translation.*" See what Dr. Walton presently says of the *simple edition*, as it is called, of this Version, and also of Bootius; and then compare the following observations of Cappellus and his commentator. "Unde nobis certò probabit, [Bootius,] *eam suam sibi ab initio habuisse Translationem, ex ipsis Hebraicis factam?* An, quia jam talis exstat Versio quædam Syriaca, quæ magis videtur ex Hebræo quàm ex Græco τῶν LXX. facta? Esto talis ea sit, unde nobis demonstrabit Bootius, hodiernam istam statim ab initio fuisse, ac non quarto aut quinto post Christam seculo exortam esse, &c." Here the commentator interposes: "Utrumque hoc falsum est. BOOTIUS quidè sequitur fabulosas Syrorum narrationes de antiquitate Versionis Syriacæ *simplicis*, ut vulgò vocant, quæ inserta est Bibliis Polyglottis Parisiensibus et Londinensibus, sic errabat, ut eam ad ætatem Christi et Apostolorum referret. CAPPELLUS autem ignorabat, præter illam seculo post Christum natum quarto antiquiorem, quæ ex Hebræo expressa est, verum ita, ut aut ipsi auctores ejus passim aberrantes ab Hebræo sequerentur Versionem Græcam, aut post hos alii (conf. J. D. Michaelis Biblioth. Orient. P. xviii. p. 180) illam ex hao interpolarent, exstare alias Versiones Syriacas recentiores, è Versione Græca ductas, sed, si particulas quasdam nostra ætate in lucem prolatas excoeperis, nondum editas, de quibus diligenter disserit J. G. Eichhorn, &c." Scharfenberg, in L. Capp. Critica Sacra, vol. 3. 587. "Causa traditionis de antiquitate hujus Versionis adeò remota, vi-

detur querendâ esse in defectu testimoniorum historicorum, quæ tempora Origeni proxima non laborant. Neque tamen prorsus destituuntur testimoniis historicis, qui originem ejus in fine seculi I. aut initiis II. ponunt, quæ legi possunt apud sententiæ hujus defensores, PODOCKIUM in *Præf. ad Comment. in Joëlem, et WALTONUM Prolegom. xiii.* Dathe, *Præf. in Psalt. Syriacum*, Hal. 1768. p. xxiii. “Versio ipsa adpellatur *simplex, literalis*; et jam ante schisma Eutychi-
anum et Nestorianum, fortè sec. II. facta est.” Prof. Ammon, *Not. in Ernesti, &c.* p. 222. Such are the opinions of foreign critics upon the Syriac Version. That this Version was made in the second, or between the second and fourth century, has indeed in later times been the general opinion. I will add the judicious and valuable observation upon it only of one of our own countrymen. “The language most commonly used among the Christians of the East, next to the Greek, is the Syriac. It is properly a dialect of the ancient Chaldee, which the learned divide into different dialects; 1. into that of Babylon, which is the Chaldean language in its purity; 2. into that of Jerusalem, which is what was used by the Jews after their return from their Captivity at Babylon; 3. into that of Antiochia, which was used by the Christians of Comagena, and some other provinces bordering upon Syria, when this was the native language of the country. This last is that which is now more particularly called the Syriac language. And into this language were both the Old and New Testament translated; if not before the death of St. John the Apostle, yet certainly very soon after. And the learned, who have examined this Version, and compared it with the Original both of the Old and

New Testament, tell us, that of all the ancient Versions, which are now consulted by Christians for the better understanding the Holy Scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old, *none can better serve this end than this Old Syriac Version, when carefully consulted and well understood.* And to this purpose the very nature of the language assists much; for it having been the mother tongue of those who wrote the New Testament, and a dialect of that in which the Old was first given to us, many things of both are more happily expressed in this Version than can well be done in any other language." Brett on the Ancient Versions of the Bible, 2d. ed. pp. 127, 128.

P. 188. [M] "*That Cambridge MS.*" See the Preface to the *Variantes in Syriaca Versione Vet. Test. Lectiones*, by Dr. Herbert Thorndike, in the sixth volume of Dr. Walton's Polyglot.

P. 189. [N] See the very valuable Preface of Castell, prefixed to a collation of the Samaritan Pentateuch, in the sixth volume of Dr. Walton's Polyglot; entitled, EDM. CASTELLI, S. T. B. *Prefatio de Animadversionum Samaritarum in totum Pentateuchum, ab eo collectarum, scopo atque usu.* Dr. Walton's Polyglot gives also the Samaritan version, that is, in the language commonly spoken among the Samaritans, very different, in consequence of corruption by foreign innovations, from the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, which is Hebrew in Samaritan characters. The sense of both is nearly the same; and one Latin version is found in the Polyglot for both, with occasional notes of variation at the bottom of the column. See more of the Samaritan Pentateuch, in bishop Marsh's Theol. Lectures, P. II. Lect. x. pp. 86, et seq. and Lect. xi.

pp. 93, et seq. Among the adversaries of the Samaritan Pentateuch, one has endeavoured to degrade the Latin version, of which I have just spoken, not without a subsequent very ill-judged reflection upon the "*doctissimi Angli*," as he calls them. I will cite a part of his censure: "Ultima causa libri Samaritani negligentèr admodum habiti ea nobis semper visa est, quòd misera ac nimis jejuna versio Latina Pentateuchi Samaritani alterius, illius scilicet, qui idiómate Samaritano conscriptus est, in utrisque Bibliis Polyglottis, [Paris. et Londin.] *quæ profectò parum desiderii, librum ipsum propius pernoscendi, in eruditorum animis excitare poterat!*" Exercitationes Historico-Criticæ in utrumque Samaritanum Pentateuchum; auctore F. J. Schwarzio, 4to. Wittembergæ, 1756." Præf. p. vi. Now the very reason, which Professor Schwarz assigns as uninviting to further investigation, would, to a scholar of any spirit, one should think, be that which would not only invite, but urge him on, to a *nearer acquaintance with the original*; unless, indeed, Professor Schwarz was the only *eruditus* competent to have made such a discovery of defect in the version adopted both by Morinus and Walton; and unless at his appalling words the whole body of the *eruditi* were then only to be awakened as to Samaritan research, or to be for ever fallen. I must refer the reader upon the subject of the Samaritan Pentateuch to Walton's own excellent Prolegomena, cap. xi. And for the rescue of this Pentateuch from the charges of its adversaries, with other valuable remarks upon it, to bishop Marsh's Theological Lectures, L. xii. pp. 141, et seq.

P. 193. [O] "*which belonged to one of their priests*"

in Damascus." See the *Memoirs of Dr. Walton*, pp. 185, et seq.

P. 194. [P] "*that have laid aside the English Liturgy.*" See the *Memoirs of Dr. Walton*, p. 137.

P. 196. [Q] "*the Chaldee Paraphrase.*" See the address to the reader by Mr. Samuel Clarke, one of Dr. Walton's principal assistants; prefixed to his *Variae Lectiones et Observationes in Chaldaicam Paraphrasin*, in the sixth volume of the *Polyglot*; and also Dr. Walton's original description of his intended edition, *Mem.* p. 38.

P. 197. [R] "*the Vulgar Latin.*" Dr. Walton says, that he thought this version should have felt the displeasure of his adversary most, *because so magnified by the Church of Rome.* I will subjoin a very judicious observation upon this point. "*Latina S. Scripturæ Versio, quæ inde ab Hieronymi ætate Communis seu Vulgata dici consuevit, nimio, quod Pontificii illi statuunt, pretio, apud nostrates ferè in contemptum est addnota. Sed linguæ Hebraicæ, quæ diu jam in consuetudine esse desiit, usum eam haud vulgarem præstare, justi rerum æstimatores concedunt omnes atque fatentur. Etenim ut malè interdum Hebraica Latinè converterit, et vocabulis eos subjecerit sensus, qui contexto sermoni minùs sint accomodati; tamen ipso sæpius errore prodest, et verborum Hebraicorum eas significationes indicat, quas alioquin ægrè essemus cognituri.*" E. A. Frommanni, *Theol. Doct. Opusc. Philolog. Cob.* 1770, vol. 1. p. 177.

P. 198. [S] "*the Septuagint.*" Dr. Brett, in his *Dissertation on the Ancient Versions of the Bible*

affords a fine comment on this text of Walton, 2d. edit. pp. 44, et seq. and pp. 67, et seq.

P. 201. [T] "*the Ethiopic.*" Ernesti thus describes the Ethiopic Version of the New Testament: "*Æthiopicam commemorare creditur Chrysostomus, in Homil. in Jo. 2. Itaque ea, quæ nunc exstat, ipso antiquior putatur. Sed ex illo loco nihil certi potest colligi. Æthiopes quidam S. Frumentio tribuunt, cujus setas in Constantini M. tempora incidit. Eam à Græco factam defendit cel. Michaelis de Var. Lect. N. T. §. 24, 25. Nam quod pluribus locis cum Latino consentit, causa esse potest hæc, quod ea à Tessa Taione, monasterii Æthiopici monacho, Romæ 1548-9, edita est à Codice lacunoso, et à Latino suppleta et interpolata, adjuvante Mariano Victorio Reatino, et alio perito. Repetita in Polyglottis Lond. etiam vitiosior facta est.*" Inst. Interpr. N. T. P. III. c. iv. §. 7. No better Ethiopic Version could be procured, when Dr. Walton published the Polyglot. This Version is generally believed to have been made in the fourth century. Of other parts of the Sacred Writings in the Ethiopic Tongue, and printed in the London Polyglot, see the Memoirs of Dr. Walton, pp. 78, 167, 171, 250. I refer the reader also to Professor Bode's *Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Versione Æthiopici Interpretis in Bibliis Polyglottis Anglicanis editum*, &c. Hal. 1749; to his *Novum Testamentum*; from the same Version, afterwards published; and to his *Fragmenta Vet. Test. ex Vers. Æthiop. Interpr. et alia quædam Opuscula Æthiop. ex Æthiop. ling. in Lat.* 1756.

Ibid. [U] "*the Persian.*" See what is said of the Persian Pentateuch, Memoirs of Dr. Walton, pp. 62,

77, 226. and of the Gospels, *ibid.* pp. 78, 231. And particularly the elaborate and curious Preface of the oriental critic named in the preceding note, to his *Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Versione Persici Interpretis in Bibliis Polyglottis Anglicanis editum: Ex Persico idiomate in Latinum transtulit, simulque de Persica IV. Evangeliorum Versione generatim præfatus est* C. A. BODIUS, 1750. It may gratify the oriental scholar to be informed that, in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a Copy of the four Gospels in the Persian language is preserved; and is thus described by the late Sir William Jones: "It is written in a hand uncommonly bold and clear: in one or two of the alternate pages the Persian is expressed in European letters, and, by the pronunciation of the words, I should suppose that the book was written in India, where, it is to be wished, that the Persian Gospels were more common."

P. 208. [W] "*what our Sectaries have cried down,*" Compare the conclusion of Dr. Walton's *Considerator considered*; and see the *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, p. 137.

P. 207. [X] "*hath been long disputed.*" See what is before said in the note H. p. 320, on the Hebrew points.

P. 212. [Y] "*as is shewed Prolegom. ii.*" It should be added, from the sixth to the twelfth section.

P. 213. [Z] "*that ancient Greek MS. of Cardinal Barberini's.*" Collated in the sixth volume of Dr. Walton's *Polyglot*, pp. 131—137.

P. 224. [A] "*he first got the knowledge of the Arabic tongue.*" He appears to have been much indebted also for this kind of knowledge to our learned countryman, William Bedwell, one of our authorized

Translators of the Bible. See the Memoirs of Dr. Walton, p. 106.

P. 285. [B] "*some learned men of good note.*" Most of the Protestants at the time espoused the cause of Buxtorf.

P. 286. [C] "*this question is handled at large, Proleg. iii. sect. 29—38.*" To what is there discussed may be added some observations of later and very discerning critics upon a subject so important, in unison or at variance with Dr. Walton, or in moderation of the dispute. "The ancient Hebrew alphabet was not written in the present Hebrew character, but in a letter pretty much the same as the present Samaritan. Buxtorf and Lightfoot were not of this opinion; but it has been abundantly proved by Scaliger, Casaubon, Grotius, Vossius, Bochart, Father Morin, Brerewood, Cappellus, and Walton. Bishop Walton has proved it, beyond contradiction, from some ancient Jerusalem coins, called *shekels*. The Rabbins; Talmudists, Christian Fathers, Origen, and St. Jerom, all believed that there had been a change of the Hebrew letters. St. Jerom asserts it very expressly. Spanheim, and Dr. Allix took the other side of the question; but they have answered only a small part of the arguments against them. This change of the Hebrew letters was made by Ezra, after the rebuilding of the Temple, when he wrote out a new Copy of the Law." Shuckford, Connection of Sacred and Profane History, vol. 1. pp. 254, 255. Compare the sixth and following sections of this chapter of Dr. Walton's Considerator. "In controversia illa, quæ complurium virorum doctorum calamos exercuit, utrum literæ Hebræorum hodiernæ, quæ quadratæ vocantur, an Samaritanæ an-

tiquæ sint, WALTONUS eorum partibus accedit, qui pro his pugnant. Utraque sententia non destituitur rationibus, aliis gravioribus, aliis levioribus. Qui eas breviter et summatim collectas legere velit, evolvat CARPZOVIVM in Critica S. cap. v. sect. vi. p. 225, seqq. ubi utriusque sententiæ defensores, recentiores etiam, qui post WALTONUM in hac palæstra decertant, larga manu citatos inveniet. Sed fuerunt etiam, qui hanc controversiam parùm momentosam judicarent. In quibus est GUSSETIUS, qui sub finem dissertationis Lexico suo præmissæ dicit; *inanem esse suspicionem terrori panico similem, quæ ex illa literarum commutatione integritati Codicis Sacri aliquid derogari vereatur: Idem prorsus evenisse in literis Græcis et Latinis; CAPITALIS, quæ vocantur, permutatas esse in librorum descriptione cum VERSALIBUS, neque quemquam judicare propterea libros Græcos et Latinos magis mendaces ad nos ventisse: Et tandem addit, idem fortè in hac controversia evenisse, quod in adagio est *απὸ κατὰ οὐρανὸν*; fortè enim, inquit, Mosaicae literarum figuræ nec hæ nec illæ erant, sed diversæ quædam, ex quibus alii hæ quadratas sensim finxerunt amore simplicitatis, alii Samaritanas, quærentes ex multiplicitate flexum vel ornamentum vel distinctionem majorem. Idem ferè in mentem venit DEY-LINGIO, qui in Observatt. S. P. III. Obs. xxv. §. 20. dicit, sibi nec quadratas Hebræorum literas quales nunc in usu sunt, nec Samaritanas, antiquissimas et primævas videri, propter inconstantiam in scribendo et mutabilitatem, cui omnium linguarum literæ sint obnoxie. Legerat fortè idem in R. SIMONIS Hist. Crit. V. T. lib. i. cap. 13. p. 79. cujus verba hæc sunt: *Je remarquerai seulement, qu'une bonne par-**

tie des caracteres Samaritains et des Caldéens, qu'on nomme aujourd'hui Hebreux, semblent avoir été les memes dans leur origine, mais qu'il leur est arrivé, ce qui arrive d'ordinaire aux autres langues, dont les caracteres changent avec le tems et quand elles passent d'un lieu en un autre. Atque huic sententiæ ego quoque accedere nullus dubito, non solum propter allatas rationes, sed etiam propter summam difficultatem, quæ ejusmodi solennis quasi literarum antiquarum abrogatio, et novarum surrogatio, inter Judæos per tot regiones dispersos perficienda fuisset. Unde verò, dicat aliquis, constans illa antiquitatis traditio, Judæorum, Hieronymi, Eusebii, de Esra mutatæ Samariticæ Scripturæ in Assyriacæ seu Chaldaicæ auctore? Ad hanc objectionem non deest, quod respondeam. Venit illa traditio à Judæis mendacibus, qui omnibus suis institutis divinam solent originem affingere, atque imprimis Esram eorum auctorem jactare ad majorem eis fidem conciliandam atque auctoritatem. Non mirum igitur videri debet, HIERONYMUM hac de mutatione loqui tanquam de re certa et fidei indubitatæ, cum totus, quoad linguæ Hebrææ cognitionem, penderet ab ore Judæi sui magistri Tiberiensis. Non temerè à me hujus impudentiæ Judæos accusari, testis est famosa illa Synagoga Magna, cujus præsidem etiam Esram fuisse mentiuntur, à quo, et centum et viginti ejus assessoribus, omnia, quæ ad rem sacram pertinent, ordinata fuerant et instituta. Sed dudum hoc commentum explosum est adeò ab eis, qui in admittendis Judæorum traditionibus minimè sunt difficiles. Hanc **MEDIAM QUASI VIAM**, ad devitandas in alterutram partem aberrationes, ingressus etiam est SCHULTENSIVS in Instit. Ling. Hebr. p. 15, seqq. præ aliis dig-

nus, qui de HOC ARGUMENTO legatur." Dathe, in Prolegom. Walton. pp. xxvii, xxviii, xxix. Dathe is again employed in refuting the idea of Esdras or Ezra (for the name is the same) setting forth a copy or canon of Holy Writ, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv. But besides this disagreement with Dr. Walton in the chapter before us, and not allowing the authority of modern Jewish testimony that Ezra laid down any rules at all, Dathe objects to another assertion of Dr. Walton respecting the Hebrew language, which may here be properly noticed, as it also finely cautions the reader against another modern Jewish notion. "*Laudes linguæ Hebrææ recensuit WALTONUS, quas ego quoque lubentè ei tribuam, modò omittatur ex eis sanctitas, quæ ei propter peculiares rationes præ omnibus aliis linguis propria sit. Quamvis enim meritò dignitas eximia et principatus quidam huic linguæ concedendus sit, quòd primæva est omniumque aliarum mater, tamen sanctam eam dicere nolim ex ratione à WALTONO allata; quòd divina religionis mysteria hac lingua tradita sunt. Etenim Novi Testamenti libri longè pleniori Dei cognitione et perfectiore nos instruunt, cultum Deo præstandum longè faciliorem præscribunt, de æterna felicitati homini per et propter Christum expectanda longè clarius et apertius loquuntur, quàm illi Veteris Testamenti Hebraicè scripti. Græca igitur lingua potius sancta et sanctissima esset dicenda, si, propter res sanctas lingua aliqua enunciata et scripta, ea sancta dici meretur. Nimirum hæc est opinio ista Judaica, excogitata ab hac gente in contemptum omnium aliarum nationum, et inprimis in contumeliam religionis Christianæ. Satis nota est gentis Judaicæ superbia et fastus, quæ sese omnibus aliis gentibus longè*

præstantiorem esse jactat. Non mirum igitur, si et majorum suorum linguam unice aptam esse contendunt tradendis religionis mysteriis; ita enim simul libros Christianos sanctissimos, et dogmata quæ tradunt, unâ cum auctore eorum divino, rejiciunt, contemnunt, conviciantur. Hinc non satis cautè admissum esse judico ex Judaismo *illam linguæ Hebrææ sanctitatem*, et parum peritè defensam à Christianis philologis plerisque contra eos, qui eam in dubiam vocarent. Equidem non dubito, quin boni illi viri istam sententiam ea qua digna est detestatione rejecissent, si anguem in herba latentem agnovissent. Sed pia illa superstitio, qua à Judæis præceptoribus suis erga linguam Hebræam imbuti fuerunt, effecit, ut nihil de maligno Judæorum consilio in his laudibus, quas linguæ Hebrææ tribuerent, suspicarentur. Sed primus, quantum scio, illud detexit, et pro merito cum indignatione rejecit, A. SCHULTENSIVS in Præf. Comm. ad Proverbia Salomonis. Eundem deinde errorem, et plures alios, qui ex illo provenerunt, castigavit FROMMANNUS in Dissertatione *de opinata linguæ Hebrææ sanctitate fecunda errorum matre*." Dathe, in Proleg. pp. xxiv, xxv. The dissertation of Frommannus is extremely curious and important; and is divided into the following discussions, after delivering in section 1. some remarks upon the title of the sanctity in question. Sect. 2. "Nomen linguæ sanctæ quod initium habuerit, docetur." Sect. 3. "Causæ hujus appellationis derivantur ex Judæorum superbia et inimico in Evang. animo." Sect. 4. "Sanctitas linguæ Heb. à Christianis philologis nonnullis imprudenter approbata. Sect. 5. "Momentum opinionis de sanctitate linguæ Heb." Sect. 6. "Declarantur errores ab hac opinione nati,

in judicanda natura ling. Heb. universæ." Sect. 7. "Errores in historia ling. Heb." Sect. 8. "Errores in grammatica ling. Heb. et quidèr ratione literarum Hebraicarum." Sect. 9. "Errores grammatici ratione significationum vocum Heb. constituendarum." Sect. 10. "Errores grammatici ratione universæ dicendi formæ Heb."

Reverting to the former part of this note, the observation of bishop Marsh may here close the subject, that is, the antiquity of the Hebrew letters; the latest and most useful work upon which, he says, is *Josephi Dobrowsky de antiquis Hebræorum characteribus Dissertatio, Pragæ. 1783.* "This tract contains in a short compass a perspicuous statement of all the arguments both for, and against, the antiquity of the Hebrew letters; and the conclusion which the author deduces is, that *not the Hebrew, but that the Samaritan was the ancient alphabet of the Jews.* That the present Hebrew or Chaldee character was *not* used by the Jews before the Babylonish captivity is an opinion, which is now almost universally received, and the truth of it seems no longer disputable. But it is still a question whether the Samaritan letters, *in the form in which we now find them in Manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch,* were the letters used by the Jews before the Babylonish Captivity." Theol. Lect. P. II. p. 135. I venture to add to that which respects the biblical text, already stated in this long note, the following sound and masterly remarks. "If God has graciously given us his revealed word, let us not repine that he does not put it out of our power to abuse it, but has given it on precisely the same conditions as all his other bounties. Nor let us hastily

suppose that the evil of a corrupted text is irremediable, or that it impairs the authority of Scripture. We see in the natural world, that the effects of guilt in one age may be counteracted by the virtues of another. So it is with the Bible. The marginal notes and the vowel system have done much towards restoring the text, and facilitating the interpretation, of the Old Testament; and our gratitude is therefore due to the Great Synagogue of Ezra, the Tiberian Masorites, or whoever else were their authors. The labours of Mill and Griesbach have also been invaluable in correcting the text of the New Testament. These are indeed cheering and glorious monuments of the possibility of recovering the sacred book from its corruptions." Whittaker's *Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures*, 1819. p. 177.

P. 289. [D] "*in the same Prolegomena.*" Namely, sect. 30.

P. 291. [E] "*in the same Prolegomena.*" Namely, sect. 31.

P. 299. [F] "*as Liber Enoch, in Dr. Dee, written by direction of his spirits!*" It is worth noting of this strange person, that "Meredith Lloyd asserted, that John Dee's *printed book of spirits* was not above the third part of what was writ." Aubrey's *Anecdotes*, vol. 2. p. 311. And yet a folio, respecting the operations of them and Dr. Dee, was published by Meric Casaubon!

P. 304. [G] "*entreating the reader, who desires more full satisfaction, to have recourse to the Prolegomena and Appendix themselves.*" It may be useful then to detail the component parts of these important

productions, the Prolegomena and Appendix to Dr. Walton's Polyglot Bible.

PROLEGOMENA.

I. De linguarum natura, origine, divisione, numero, mutationibus, et usu.

II. De literis, sive characteribus, ipsarum usu mirabili, origine et inventione prima, et diversitate in linguis præcipuis.

III. De lingua Hebraica, ejus antiquitate, conservatione, mutatione, præstantia et usu, characteribus antiquis, punctisque vocalibus, et accentibus.

IV. De Bibliorum Editionibus præcipuis.

V. De Bibliorum Versionibus.

VI. De Variantibus in Scriptura Lectionibus.

VII. De Textuum Originalium integritate et auctoritate.

VIII. De Masora, Keri et Ketib, Variis Lectionibus Orientalium et Occidentalium, Ben Ascher et Ben Naphtali; et de Cabala.

IX. De Versione Græca LXXII. Interpretum, aliisque Græcis Versionibus.

X. De Versione Vulgata Latina.

XI. De Pentateucho Samaritano, ejusque Versionibus.

XII. De lingua Chaldaica, et Versionibus Chaldaicis.

XIII. De lingua Syriaca, et Versionibus Syriacis.

XIV. De lingua Arabica, et Versionibus Arabicis.

XV. De lingua Æthiopica, et Versionibus Æthiopicis.

XVI. De lingua Persica, et Versionibus Persicis.

APPENDIX.

I. Tractatus de Codicum Hebræorum Variis Lectionibus, quæ Keri et Ketib dicuntur; eorum origine, numero, &c. Item de Variantibus Lectionibus Orientalium et Occidentalium, Ben Ascher et Ben Naphtali, cum singularum catalogis, parascharum item et haph-tararum tabulis.

II. Chaldaicæ Paraphraseos Editionis nostræ cum illa in Bibliis Regiis Collatio, ubi discrepantiæ annotantur, cum annotationibus et observationibus doctissimis.

III. Syriacæ Versionis Vet. Test. cum aliis vetust. Codd. Syr. MSS. Usserianis, Pocockiano, et Cantabrigiensi, Collatio, cum notis et observationibus circa loca variantia.

IV. Pentateuchus Samaritanus cum Textu Hebraico collatus, discrepantiæ omnes collectæ, loca etiam in quibus Text. Samar. cum Versione תנ"ך convenit, utrumque verò ab Heb. differt.

V. Annotationes et Observationes doctissimæ ad Textum et Versionem Samarit. spectantes.

VI. Notæ et observationes doctissimæ in Psalmos, Cantic. Canticorum, et Nov. Test. Versionis Æthiopice.

VII. Annotationes in Pentateuchum Persicum, et in Quatuor Evangelia Persica.

VIII. Arabica Versio Pentat. cum R. Saadiæ Versione, tam quæ in Codd. MSS. quàm quæ in Bibliis Constantinopolitanis extat, collata.

IX. Flam. Nobilii Notæ in Græc. LXXII. Editionem Romanam, in quibus ex antiquis Ecclesiæ scriptoribus, et libris tam MSS. quàm impressis, Heb.

Græc. Samarit. Lat. Syr. Chald. &c. textus explicatur vel confirmatur; quibus varia à Nobiliò prætermissa ex scholiis Romanis, Jo. Drusio, et aliis, vel Latine tantum ab ipso ex Græcis scriptoribus citata, ipsis scriptorum verbis adductis, adjecimus.

X. Editio Romana LXXII. Interpretum cum aliis Editionibus hodiernis, Veneta et Complutensi, ex quibus reliquæ profluxerunt, et cum quibusdam MSS. exemplaribus collata; omniaque loca variantia collecta.

XI. Ejusdem Collatio cum aliis MSS. vetustissimis, Gottoniano per Genesin, Cantabrigiensi per libros Chronicorum, Rupifucaldiano per Esaiam, Card. Barberini per Minores Prophetas;

XII. Andr. Masii Notæ in Josuam cum asteriscis, obelis, lemniscis, hypolemniscis, &c. ex vetustiss. exemplari Syriaco, ante mille annos exarato, collectæ.

XIII. Lovaniensium Theologorum Collationes Vulg. Lat. Vet. Test. cum aliis exemplaribus, item cum Textu Hebr. Versionibus Chald. Græc. Syr. et Latinis Ecclesiæ Patribus.

XIV. Patricii Junii Annotationes quas paraverat ad MS. Alexandrinæ Editionem, in quibus Codicem illum attiquiss. cum Textu Hebr. et veteribus Ecclesiæ scriptoribus, aliisque Græcis Editionibus, confert.

XV. Ex viri summi Hugonis Grotii Annotatione in universam Scripturam Excerpta de Locis Variantibus, cum ejusdem de singulis judicio.

XVI. Variæ Lectiones Græcæ N. Test. tam quas collegerat Rob. Stephanus ex XVI, Codicibus MSS. quam ex plurimis aliis vetustissimis exemplaribus collectæ, et in unum corpus digestæ.

XVII. Lucæ Brugensis libelli duo de Græcis et Latinis Varietatibus Evangeliorum, et Lovan. Theo-

log. Collationes Vulg. Lat. Nov. Test. cum Textu Græc. Syr. et Latinis scriptoribus.

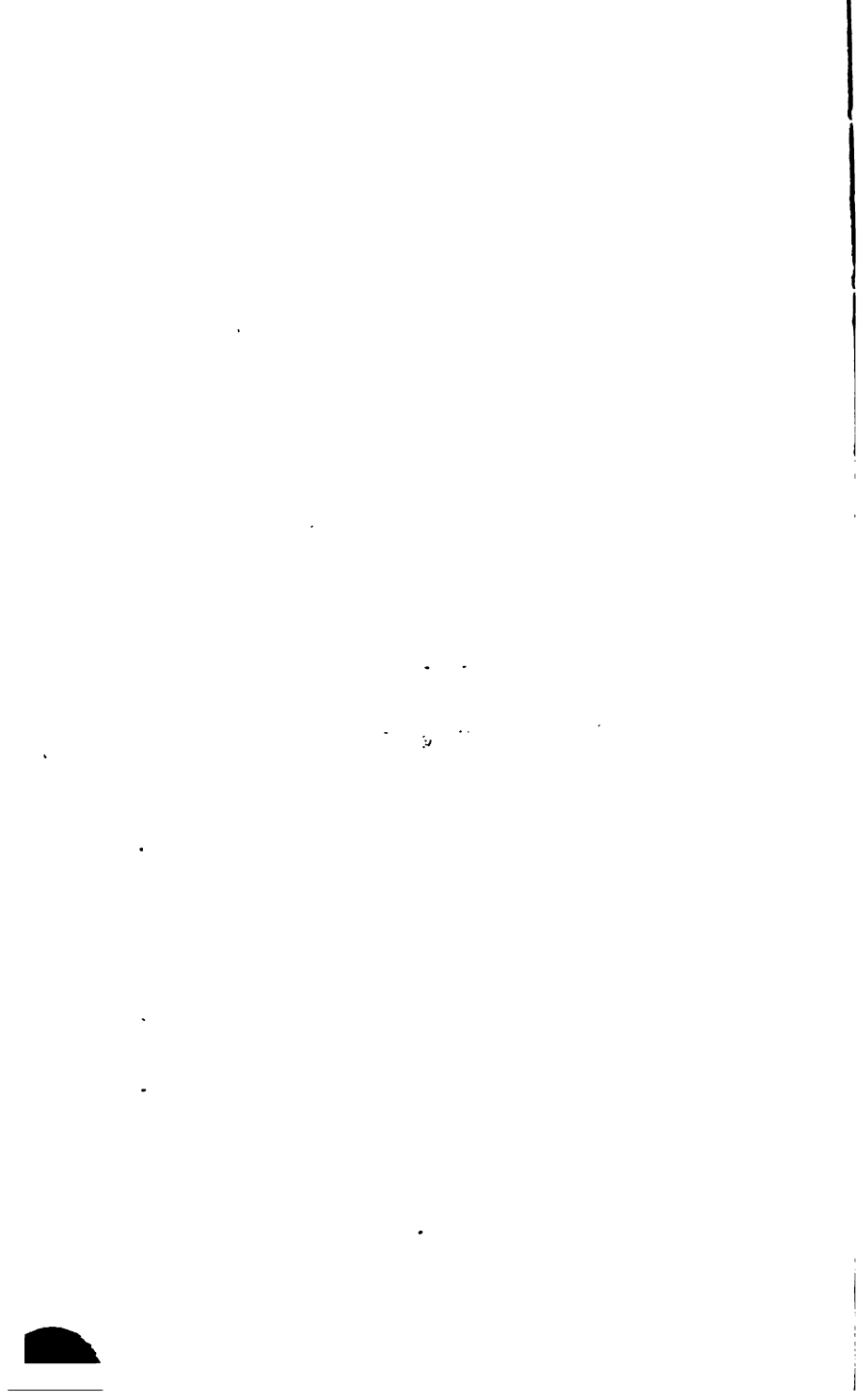
XVIII. In Syriacam Versionem N. Test. Notæ Mart. Trostii, ex variis Codicibus collectæ, cum aliis quibusdam à nobis nuper adjectis.

XIX. Propriorum nominum, Hebraicorum, Græcorum, Chaldaicorum, explicatio.

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To this description of a never-failing theological and critical treasury, I will only add the concluding eulogium of Dathe upon the Prolegomena, as published in a separte form; earnestly recommending it to the attention of every biblical and oriental student. "Videor mihi jam satisfecisse officio præfandi libro, cujus lectionem non possum non philologiæ S. studiosis vehementer commendare, licet hinc inde quædam sint, quæ post auctoris tempora accuratius sunt excussa, aut plenius tractata. *Habebunt sanè tirones in hoc libro compendium utilissimum, ex quo omnium eorum, quæ ad Criticam S. utriusque Testamenti pertinent, notitiam sibi acquirere possunt, quam deinde adjuncta recentiorum scriptorum lectione eo felicius augebunt.* QUOD UT A MULTIS FIAT, IN REI CHRISTIANÆ UTILITATEM ETIAM ATQUE ETIAM OPTO."

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Usher, Archbishop. His approbation of the projected London Polyglot. I. 45. Transmits to Cappellus, at Samur, the first sheet of the London Polyglot. I. 67. His Collations of MSS. of the New Testament. I. 79, 182. II. 148, 330. An assistant in the Polyglot. I. 179, et seq. Perhaps formed his intimacy with Dr. Walton at Oxford. I. 180. Placed by Dr. Walton at the head of his literary benefactors. I. 182. His curious letters upon Oriental and biblical criticism. I. 183, et seq. Disdained to join the Assembly of Divines. I. 181. Affecting letter to him from Meric Casaubon. I. 316. Letters to him from Sir Thomas Davis at Aleppo. I. 184, et seq. to and from Dr. Samuel Ward. I. 192, et seq. from Mr. J. Greaves. I. 197. from Dr. Arnold Boate. I. 198, et seq. to and from Dr. Hammond. I. 199, et seq. His Various Readings of the New Testament. I. 199. Lent by him to Dr. Hammond. *ibid.* Offers to send Bootius a book of Mr. Eyres, which would ease him of much trouble in his projected contest with Cappellus. I. 201, 202. Receives from Bootius a refusal of this favour. I. 202. Disclaimed

notions which defended or propagated Calvinism. I. 203. Extract from his Sermon, when bishop of Meath. I. 203, 204. His declarations on Calvinistical points, attested by Dr. Walton, Mr. Thorndike, and Mr. Gunning. I. 205, et seq.

Vulgar Latin Version of Scripture. II. 197, et seq. and 338.

W.

Wakfeld, or Wakefield, Robert. Oriental scholar and critic. I. 96, 97. Pronounced one of the first masters in England of Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic. I. 97. His publications. I. 97, 98.

Wakfeld, or Wakefield, Thomas. Hebrew Professor at Cambridge. I. 97.

Walton, Brian. Born at Seymour, or Seamer, in Cleveland. I. 3. First of Magdalen College, Cambridge. *ibid.* Next, of Peter House, *ibid.* Master of a school in Suffolk, *ibid.* Rector of St. Martin's Orgar, London. *ibid.* Conducts the business of the London tithes. I. 4. His collections and treatise on the subject. I. 6, 7. Instituted to the rectories of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, and of Sandon, county of Essex. I. 7. Chaplain to the king. I. 8. Prebendary of St. Paul's. *ibid.* Opposes at Cambridge the infallibility of the Pope. *ibid.* Loses his first wife. I. 9. Account of her. *ibid.* Some of his London Parishioners unjustly represent him. I. 10. Exhibit articles against him. I. 11. What those articles were. I. 14. Dr. Walton defends the Church of England against the charge of Popish innovations. I. 15. Refuses a lecturer at the charge and election of his parishioners. I. 16, 17. Taken into custody as a delinquent. I. 20. Insulted in giving his testimony before a committee, by Isaac Pennington. I. 22. Supplanted at Sandon by an

"able preaching minister," the term for a parliamentary priest. I. 24. Dispossessed of both his rectories. I. 25. Supposed, with little reason, to have written a pamphlet at Oxford. I. 27. Formed at Oxford the design of his Polyglot. *ibid.* Incorporated D. D. there. I. 28. Returns from Oxford, to the house of Dr. Fuller in London, with collections for his Polyglot. I. 29. Submitted his plan to many bishops. I. 30. Circulation of his proposals. I. 31. His letter to Archbishop Usher. I. 62. Description of his Introduction to the reading of the Oriental Tongues. I. 69, 70. Editions of it. 70, 71. Vindicates his Polyglot against the attack of Dr. J. Owen. I. 74, 75. II. *passim*. Dedicated his Polyglot to King Charles II. not to Cromwell. I. 82. Thanks the king for the noble answer he returned on the application made for that purpose. *ibid.* Informs his Majesty of his original determination. I. 83. Refers to witnesses of it. *ibid.* Exposes the subtilty of Cromwell. *ibid.* Threatened with a suppression of his work. I. 84. Delivered both from the extortion of a dedication to Cromwell, and from any fury of the Usurper. *ibid.* Statement of his alteration of the passage as to Cromwell's grant in regard to the paper. I. 84, 85. Appointed to consider of a new English Version of the Bible. I. 90. Agrees that the authorized Version is the best of any of the Translations. I. 91, 92. He and his assistants acquired their Oriental learning in the age of James the first. I. 126. Consecrated bishop of Chester. I. 135. One of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference. *ibid.* Speaks in favour of Baxter. I. 136. His reception at Chester. I. 148, *et seq.* Accidents stated to have occurred on his coming to Chester. I. 155, 156. His concurrence with other bishops upon the settlement of the Liturgy. I. 156. His death. I. 157. His funeral. I. 158. His monument. I. 158, *et seq.* His library. I. 160, 161. His testimony as to the decla-

- rations of Archbishop Usher upon certain Calvinistical points of doctrine. I. 205, 207. His additions to P. Young's notes. I. 288, 289. Acknowledges the intended service of Dr. Meric Casaubon. I. 313. Records literary obligation to Claude Hardie in a curious manner. I. 316, 317. And to many other scholars. *ibid.* His Vindication of the Polyglot, now republished. I. 75. II. 1, et seq. His Prolegomena to the Polyglot republished. I. 75. His Reasons for writing the Vindication of his Polyglot. II. 17, 18. Severely, but not justly, censured by a recent biographer of Dr. John Owen. II. 314, 316.
- Warburton*, Dr. G. Curious extract from his sermon preached before King James the first. II. 311.
- Ward*, Samuel. A biblical and Oriental critic. I. 120. One of our Translators of the authorized Bible. *ibid.* Specimen of the manner in which he proceeded with his share of the Translation. *ibid.* The friend of Archbishop Usher. *ibid.* His Adversaria in Sidney College, Cambridge. I. 120. His collation of ancient versions of part of Genesis. I. 121. His Letters to Archbishop Usher. I. 192, et seq.
- Wheelock*, Abraham. His letter upon the design of the London Polyglot. I. 55. An assistant in it. I. 230, et seq. His particular services. I. 231. Account of his Persian Gospels. I. 231, 232. His preferments. *ibid.* His circumstances not easy. I. 232. His letter to the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge. I. 232, 233. Fine character of him by Dr. Sclater. I. 234, et seq. His Persian Gospels completed for the press by Mr. Pierson, and published at the charge of Sir T. Adams. I. 241. His edition of Bede. I. 242. His Anglo Saxon Lexicon MS. British Museum. I. 243.
- White*, Dr. Joseph. His disapprobation of Mr. Pratt's Prospectus of a New Polyglot. I. 333.
- Whole Duty of Man*. Inquiries as to the author of that work. I. 293.

Werthington, Dr. His interesting account of Dr. Castell and his labours. I. 164, et seq. and 171.

Wilkins, Dr. David. His publication of the Targum upon the Chronicles. I. 246, 324, 325, 326;

Willet, Andrew. An eminent biblical critic. I. 164.

Y.

Young, Patrick. The use of his notes for the Polyglot. I. 64, 286. Account of him. I. 286, 287. Intended to collate and publish the Alexandrian MS. I. 287. Published the Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians. *ibid.* His death in 1652. I. 288. Dr. Walton's description of his notes, obtained after his decease. I. 288. Dr. Walton's additions to them. I. 288, 289.

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